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"It surprises me, that you should leave WINDHAM out of your list, who (observe my prophecy) "will become one of the ablest men and most shining characters that the latter part of this age "will produce. I hazard little in such a prediction; for his judgment, talents, and attainments will "justify it."——Lord Lyttleton, Letter XVIII.

AN

NALYTICAL AND COMPARATIVE VIEW

Of two pamphlets, lately published, the one itled, "Cursory Remarks upon the State of rties, during the administration of Mr. dington, by a NEAR OBSERVER;" *and other entitled, "A Plain Answer to the epresentations and calumnies contained in Cursory Remarks of a Near Observer, by* MORE ACCURATE OBSERVER."

(Continued from p. 112.)

The charges which the Near Observer efers against MR. WINDHAM, on the ore of his parliamentary conduct, are, first, opposition to the militia system; second, inconsistency in first calling for war, and en, when war became inevitable, declarg, all of a sudden, that it was his wish to serve peace; third, his remaining in ofe during the negotiations at Lisle, to ich, as it now appears, he was always posed.

The charge respecting the militia system s fully refuted in a former part of this nalytical and Comparative View, present olume, p. 5 to 18, particularly, p. 12 to . But, it may not be amiss to add a reark or two to what was said, especially hen we take into view some recent transtions. "In pursuing the subject," says e Near Observer, "we shall have the misfortune to see Mr. Windham in full fruition of his vow, and the kingdom replunged into a war, which no policy, no human prudence, no moderation, no forbearance could avert. Shall we find him consistent then? Shall we behold him arraying the forces, balloting the militia, calling out the volunteers? Will he impose silence upon the factious by his eloquence, banishing delays, and conquering obstacles by the vigour of his mind, giving the lesson and example of public virtue, and acting the glorious part of a patriot statesman, the disciple of Burke?" hen, when this writer comes to speak of r. Windham's conduct after the declaration of war, comes the passage, which has been quoted, in p. 5 and 6, and to which I beg leave to refer the reader.——To the passage, which I have here cited, and to other corresponding parts of the Treasury Pamphlet, the More Accurate Observer has given the following answer, which, as far as it goes, is fair and pertinent enough: "He" [Mr. Windham] "is accused of "that, which, at a moment like the pre"sent, would be little short of treason. He "is charged with impeding and obstructing "the national defence. Shall we behold "him, it is asked, arraying the forces, bal"loting the militia, calling out the volun"teers? Yes; I reply; we shall behold "him amongst the foremost in *arraying the* "*forces*, not certainly in balloting the mili"tia, or in calling out the volunteers; but "why? because he does not consider those "to be the most efficient modes of arraying "the forces. But, in objecting to the mea"sures brought forward by the government, "he proposed others which appeared to "him better calculated to attain the object "which was in view; and he did not leave "a shadow of pretext for the foul detrac"tion of the Near Observer. Are we real"ly to think, that Mr. Windham did not "wish to put forth the best energies of the "state for our safety and preservation, be"cause he did not approve the plan of "the ministry; or, because, perhaps, he "might not think, that they knew very "well how to carry their own plan "into execution?"——That the balloting of the militia to a number beyond the old establishment, and that the calling out of the volunteers, was not, in reality, to array the *forces*, is now pretty evident; seeing that the volunteers, are, at the end of seven or eight months, found to be "*totally inadequate* to the object of their institution;" while the great advocate of the militia, the gentleman who, of all others, most differed from Mr. Windham on the subject, has *now* discovered, that, without reducing the militia to its old number, that is to say, to the very state which Mr. Windham wished to keep it in, we cannot keep up our regular army. Precisely what measures will, as it

these points, be, at last adopted, it is impossible to say; but, as far as events have gone, they have fully proved, that to "array the forces," in reality, would have been to do exactly what Mr. Windham recommended. If his advice had been followed, that advice which was so shamefully misrepresented by Mr. Yorke, by the Addingtons, and by their hirelings; if that advice had been followed, we should now have had, in Europe, a regular army of 130,000 effective men, a militia of 30,000, and an armed peasantry, in every part of the country, ready to assist, in case of invasion. We should have heard nothing of committees of corps; of elections of officers; of armed parliaments; of "small-bounty" men; of drilling regulations: in short, we should have heard not a word of all, or any of, the vexatious nonsense that now puzzles the heads and harasses the bodies of people of every rank and description; to say nothing of the enormous expense, to which the country is subjected, on this account, and which, by Mr. Windham's plans, would have been, in a great part, at least, avoided.

The next charge, to wit, that of having called for war, till war became unavoidable, and, then, becoming, all of a sudden, an advocate for peace, is no better founded than the former. Upon this point the words of the Treasury writer are as follows: "the discussion of these transactions, "has led me somewhat past the period of "his Majesty's message of the 8th of "March, in which the necessity had been "announced of adopting measures of pre-"caution, with regard to France, which "proceeding of the ministry, and the sub-"sequent armament they proposed, so far "from producing that unanimity of parties "which might have been expected, and "which at first it appeared to have affect-"ed, only exasperated and laid bare the "depth and foulness of their rank and "mortified ambition. Will it be believed, "that upon this occasion the 'war fac-"tion' (to use the phrase of the First "Consul of France) which had treated "every moment of peace as a compromise "of the national honour and security, "which had incessantly urged, railed, and "attempted to intimidate the government "into immediate war, now turned, sud-

* "They were styled *bloodhounds* in a "print which is in the *exclusive interest of* "*Mr. Pitt.*"——Yes, this print, the TRUE BRITON, certainly is in the exclusive interest of Mr. Pitt, speaking of it as the tool of a minister, or great party man; but, this print, as well as its partner, the SUN, are under the control of Messrs. Long and Rose, particularly the latter; and, as long as those gentlemen saw a likelihood, or even a probability, of Mr. Pitt's joining the ministry, and, of course, of their return to place and profit, the True Briton and the Sun were as completely devoted to Mr. Addington as they were to Mr. Pitt. In complete proof of this assertion it is only necessary to quote the very passage here alluded to by the Near Observer: "Unlike an ex-"war minister, and his little band of *blood-*"*hounds*, we are not the advocates for war, "much less for *eternal war*, but we are pre-"pared to defend, to the last drop of our "blood, the rights and independence of "our country. If we are thus, then, to "fight for our all, we surely may be allow-"ed to express a wish to be conducted in "the field by those leaders whom we love. "Let Mr. *Pitt*, Mr. *Addington*, Lord *Hawk-*"*kesbury*, Lord *Melville*, and a few others "whom we could name, direct the affairs "of the nation, and we shall think not only "our safety insured but our victory cer-"tain." The article from which this passage is extracted was inserted in the True Briton of the 7th of March last, just about the time that the place-seeking negotiation was set on foot. It was, at the time, attributed to the "right honourable relation"; but whether it came from the Addington or the Pitt faction is, as to the present point, of no consequence at all; seeing that the True Briton was, at that time, devoted to the "well-meaning" ministry; and, therefore, the phrase, "*bloodhounds*," and the base charge against Mr. Windham of being the advocate for "*eternal war*," must not now be represented as exclusively imputable to the friends of Mr. Pitt.——It is, however, perfectly true, that the most venal prints in England, or in any part of the globe, Dublin only excepted, are those which espouse the cause of Mr. Pitt. The True Briton of the 7th of March, 1803, says: "The *uprightness* of the intentions of the "present ministry, the *real love* they bear "their country, the principles which they "have uniformly practised, and, a similar-"rity of mind and sentiment *identify* them "with the man [Mr. Pitt], to whom the "eyes of the nation are, at this moment, "anxiously turned, &c." Now, who can read this, and compare it with the continued, the incessant attacks on ministers which have been made in this True Briton *ever since the negotiation for place broke off*; who can view such an instance of versatility and

denly as the wind, and shifted their principles like a sail? Let us hear the language of the manly consistent Mr. Windham! "He hoped that it would not be "supposed that the opposers of the peace "would be foremost to propose the renewal of hostilities! the very reverse "would be found to be the legitimate "result of the principles they had embraced; they had chiefly opposed that "peace because its terms put the country out of a condition to go to war "again. There were no persons holding his opinions who could contemplate the renewal of war without serious alarm." "——The passage here quoted as Mr. Windham's is not what he said. It is said to be taken from the very speech which the Receiver-General of Cornwall so glaringly misrepresented, and which misrepresentation was noticed at the time, both in the House of Commons and out of it. But, more of this by and by: let us pursue the quotation: "It is too recent in recollection for it to be necessary for me to relate with what sentiments the public received this new creed of the most serene and pacific war-faction, and it might be thought to be out of the scope of the present topic, to advert to the surprise and astonishment which General Buonaparté is said to have manifested upon discovering the long mistake and mis-apprehension under which he had lived with regard to it.——I cannot, however, pass over this point altogether, because I am of opinion that the language now held by the new opposition had a considerable effect upon the negotiations which were carried on from this period, with increased activity and interest, and assumed a tone exceedingly categorical and decisive. Doubtless, it is impossible for me, or any other individual, to prove that the First Consul had not originally fixed his resolution, and that he had not been always altogether determined upon war. In this case it must be admitted, that he derived "not his first motive from the extraordinary "language of Mr. Windham and his colleagues. But I shall then contend, that "this language must have operated to encourage and confirm his intention, which "neither Mr. Windham, nor any other person can deny, might possibly have wavered, or have finally given way. The "first Consul, in his memorable Exposé to "the legislative body, had expressly stated, "that 'this country could find no ally "upon the continent, and that without allies, and single-handed, she was unable to "sustain a war with France.' I believe this "defiance was received with indignation by "every Englishman, and by Mr. Windham "among the rest; I had once thought, even "more than by the rest. I believe too, that "it was resented not more for its audacity, "than its falsehood, and that there did not "exist at that time a single individual who "was not prepared to contradict and disprove it. How then must it have satisfied and delighted the First Consul to "learn, that as soon as the King's message "had taught us to think in earnest upon "the subject, and as soon as a distinct appearance and approach of war had become visible in England, even those statesmen who had most invoked and provoked "it, were become sudden converts to his "opinion, and openly declared the truth of "it! With what transports must he not "have heard M. Otto translate from the "debates in the English papers this express "statement of Mr. Windham, that "he "" could not contemplate the renewal of "" hostilities without serious alarm, and "" that he had chiefly opposed the peace "" because it had put the country out of "" a condition to renew the war?"——In answer to this, we may first ask, with the Accurate Observer, what pretence there is for representing the renewal of the war as "the fruition of Mr. Windham's vow?" The charge of being a standing advocate for war, and even for "*eternal war*," was made against him by the "well-meaning" minister, and, indirectly, by the Lord Chancellor, during the early part of the discussions on the peace, a charge which he instantly and explicitly denied, repelled, and refuted, without, however, preventing them and their hirelings from repeating the charge, with just as much confidence and unconcern as if its truth had been admitted. And, how shamefully false is it to say, that Mr. Windham had "treated *every moment of peace* as a "compromise of national honour and security!" Is it not well known to every one, that the address, which Mr. Windham

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baseness, without holding in abhorrence the slaves by whom it is exhibited to the world? Such, however, is, unfortunately, the taste of Mr. Pitt. It has always been his policy to surround himself with creatures and tools. In certain states of society and public affairs, such policy may, and does, succeed; but, ere this day two years, Mr. Pitt will find, that it is entirely unsuited to the present times: he will find, that sufficient support is not to be purchased with money.

and his party proposed and *voted for*, on the discussion of the peace of Amiens, advised certain negotiations to be immediately entered into, in order to explain the ambiguities of that compact, and to "*preserve the* "*peace*, which his Majesty had concluded?" At the opening of the next session of Parliament, on the 23d of November, 1802, after it became apparent, that France intended to continue her conquests in peace, as well as in war; after the transactions in Swisserland, and, indeed, after every thing, worth speaking of, that was made the subject of complaint, in his Majesty's declaration of war; after all this had taken place, and while the ministers appeared ready to submit to as much more, Mr. Windham endeavoured to convince the House of Commons, that it was the wiser way to hold all that remained in our hands, in order not to begin the war at a greater disadvantage. His words were these: "We are a little "cured of the mania, in this country, which "was only an octave higher, when we were "told, that those who advised the war "were men delighting in blood, while those "who opposed them were lovers of humanity. Not being in an official situa"tion, I am not sufficiently informed to ad"vise particularly; but, on such a ques"tion, I think, we should weigh well in "what situation we shall be when the war "shall come upon us; for, come it will, "and sooner than I wish to say. I think "it would be the wiser way to anticipate "the blow. *We should not let out of our hands* "*any of the means which accident or precau*"*tion has left in them for another war.* *" This passage has been quoted by the Near Observer; but, that venal slave, so well worthy of the "well meaning" Addingtons and Hawkesburies, has taken special care to stop at the word "*blow*," and not to insert those which are here distinguished by Italick characters, and, on which, as the reader will, at once, perceive, turned the whole force of the passage, as far as related to the contrast, which the Near Observer was drawing.——In referring to declarations imputed to Mr. Windham, relative to the reluctance of himself and his friends to hasten into a war, it will be right, first, to hear what the More Accurate Observer has said in his defence. "Mr. Windham gave, "as one of his reasons for objecting to the "peace, that its consequences would put "us out of the condition to renew the war, "which he thought would soon be neces"sary. He disapproved of dismantling our "fleet and disbanding our army, because "he thought much time would not elapse "before it would be necessary to equip the "one, and recruit the other. There is no "inconsistency in endeavouring to avoid "peace when we had large naval and mili"tary establishments on foot, and to *hesitate* "in declaring war when those establish"ments had been let down. As little in"consistency is there in *objecting to the im*"*mediate ground of war*, and in thinking "that many occasions had been passed over, "on which ministers had been called upon "to take up arms."——This reasoning is clear and correct enough; but an allusion is made to facts that never existed; for, Mr. Windham never "*hesitated* at declaring "war," nor did he ever "*object to the im*"*mediate grounds of the war*," though he certainly might have done it, and with perfect consistency. For my part, I always thought that the war was unavoidable; but, that the alleged grounds of it were the very worst that could have been selected. The rupture began on our part, and we made the first movement, upon a pretext which is now notoriously false. The war is grounded upon no great, no generous principle; but, in the eyes of the world, is and ever will be regarded, as proceeding from the selfish and base desire of retaining an island, which we had, by solemn treaty, contracted to give up; and, when the ministers are called to an account for the deeds of their ministry, which, if this nation is to remain free, they must be, at no very distant time, the having embarked us in a war with the opinion of every honest and honourable foreigner against us, will not be regarded as the least of their offences. But, be this as it may, Mr. Windham, being convinced that the war was not to be avoided, never did, on any occasion, "*hesitate* at declaring war," and never did urge any "*objection to the im*"mediate *grounds*," on which it was declared. The passage, which the Treasury writer has misrepresented, is to be found in Mr. Windham's speech of the 9th of March, 1803, during the debate that took place upon the King's message. The moment the rupture was announced the newspapers began to anticipate great exultation, on the part of Mr. Windham, and of all those who had opposed the peace; but that gentleman, and those of his party who spoke upon the occasion, took care to warn the House against founding any such expectation upon the opposition which they had made to the peace. "It has," said Mr. Windham, "been asserted, that *war is my first wish*, "but, I am, at present, in no state to say,

* See Speech, Register, Vol. II. p. 1665.

can be in no state to say, whether war would be expedient, or not; if it were necessary to come to an opinion, no conclusion, as to the sentiments of those who were the most vehement opposers of the peace, could be drawn as to their opinion now. That they should be supposed to be *glad* of what was now announced, that they *exulted* at it, and would *catch with impatience* at any prospect of the renewal of war, would be a conclusion as false in reasoning as unfounded in fact. The very reverse might be the case; for, he, who was a strenuous opposer of the peace, and who saw abundant reason to adhere to his opinion, might not be ready to conclude that war could be made with advantage *now*, when we had lost so much by the peace; and, therefore, the persons entertaining the same opinions that he did would think this a very serious matter." Mr. Windham had, previously to this, frequently expressed his opinion, that a peace like that of Amiens would break the spirit of the country, and would, in every respect, tend to disqualify for war, when war would be rendered necessary.* Was there, then, any inconsistency, was there any turning "suddenly as the wind," any "shifting principles like a sail," on the occasion above referred to? And, would not any men upon earth, the Addingtons and Hawkesburies excepted, have been ashamed to encourage and to circulate so flagrant a misrepresentation and for so base a purpose? The truth is, that the Treasury slave never would have thought of applying his torturing talents to this speech of Mr. Windham, had not the example been given him by Mr. Sheridan, who seized hold of it as one of those means whereby to make a display of his "true English feeling," which admirable quality appears, by-the-by, to have been quite dormant during the present session of parliament. Mr. Windham, in explanation, positively declared, that he had expressed no such sentiments as those attributed to him by Mr. Sheridan; and, in a few days afterwards, a letter to that gentleman was published, in this work, in which the misrepresentation of Mr. Windham was clearly insisted on, and in which the consistency of his misrepresenter was proved to be of a most doubtful complexion†; yet, in the face of all this, the Near Observer, takes the exploded falsehood and serves it up afresh to those foul feeders, those swine in politics, the supporters and partisans of the present ministry.——From the date of the King's message, announcing the prospect of a speedy rupture, to the moment the Treasury hireling was instructed thus to calumniate Mr. Windham, what single word, or act, on the part of that gentleman, or his friends, was there to warrant the charge against them of "throwing every "*obstacle* in the way of *officering the militia* *;

* See Speech of 4th November, 1801, Register, Vol. II. p. 1161 and 1162, in particular.

† See the POLITICAL PROTEUS, p. 234 et seq.

* This alludes to what passed in the debate of the 18th of March, 1803, in the House of Commons, and of 31st of that month in the House of Lords, upon the subject of the bill for admitting, into the militia regiments, officers from the half-pay of the army; and, the statement of the Near Observer, relative thereto, is a striking instance of the effects produced by the "candour" of your "well-meaning" men. Lord Folkestone was the first person who opposed the bill. He said, and very truly, that if there were not qualified persons enough in the country to officer so large a militia, it was a sufficient proof, that the militia ought to be smaller, for, that to officer it with unqualified persons was to change its nature, was to adopt an entire departure from its constitutional principle. But, his lordship had a still better argument against the Secretary of War [Mr. Yorke], to wit, that the bill was, as far as it went, in complete contradiction to that famous code of militia law, which had been passed by the Parliament no more than nine months back, and *which was framed by the Secretary himself*. That code, which filled up nearly a hundred pages of the statute book, professed to have in view the removing of all the *abuses*, which had crept into the militia system during the preceding war, and the settling of the system upon a permanent basis. One of these *abuses* was, the admission of unqualified persons to be officers in the militia, the very abuse which the bill of which we are speaking was about to revive!!! And, it is for opposing: indeed, it was hardly opposing: it was merely hesitating upon, a bill like this, that the gentlemen so hesitating are accused of "throwing *obstacles* in the way of officering the militia!" But, the baseness of this part of the Treasury writer's conduct cannot be justly estimated, till we see *who* were the persons, in the two Houses of Parliament, that spoke against the bill. It will be observed, that the writer imputes the "obstacles" to the New Opposition, and to Mr. Windham in particular. In the House of

" of *discrediting our constitutional army altoge*
" *ther*; and of preaching up *humiliation and*
" *despondency?*" Let those who recollect (and who can have forgotten) the zeal and ability, with which Mr. Windham and the gentlemen who acted with him justified the going to war; let those who have witnessed the perseverence, with which he has, ever since that day, been endeavouring to *strengthen* the hands of the government; let those who have observed, that it was owing to him, and to him alone, that the army of reserve produced one single regular soldier, and that it was any thing more than a mere militia; in short, let those who have beheld the indefatigable zeal, which, in spite of all the popular odium excited against him by his cunning and cowardly opponents, he has, for these three years past, employed in the service of his king and country; let those persons form, if they can, an adequate idea of the atrocity, which dictated this charge of " preaching up *humiliation* and *despondency*."

The remaining charge against Mr. Windham relates to his conduct respecting the negotiation at Lisle. " During these dis-
" cussions" [the discussions on the peace of Amiens], " Mr. Windham," says the Near Observer, " made an *important confession*,
" that he had always disapproved of the
" project offered by Lord Grenville to the
" French Directory; and had always cen-
" sured those negotiations in his mind, to
" which, as a member of the Cabinet, he
" had outwardly lent his name, credit, and
" responsibility, and which he had *constantly*
" *defended in Parliament*. Neither did this
" confession appear officious, but indispen-
" sable; for Mr. Windham felt the glaring
" inconsistency of opposing the peace, and
" approving of the project. He knew that
" the basis of the treaty of Amiens, was
" traced at Lisle; he knew that it had been
" made more favourable for this country,
" under circumstances more unfavourable;
" he knew that his colleagues had not hoped
" to obtain the whole of their project; and
" that in every negotiation something must
" be sacrificed, and something conceded
" from the conditions of the overture. He
" knew that if it were contended, that he
" and his colleagues would not have depart-
" ed from their project in a single tittle, it
" followed that it had not been a project,
" but an ultimatum; and that a courier had
" been more properly charged with it, than
" a minister plenipotentiary. Before there-
" fore, he would venture to condemn Lord
" Cornwallis's treaty, with just regard to his
" own character, he took care to disclaim
" and disavow his part in Lord Malmsbury's
" negotiation. Do I condemn the right
" honourable gentleman for this conduct?
" Not certainly for leaving all the honour
" of the negotiations at Lisle to Lord Gren-
" ville; not certainly for protecting his own
" reputation; although, in so doing, he shew-
" ed little regard for that of his noble col-
" league, in the late Cabinet and present
" Opposition, whose inconsistency, he was
" cruelly holding up to derision; but I con-
" fess, I am at a loss to conceive, what
" greater necessity existed now for his cen-
" suring the peace of Amiens, of which the
" guilt and reproach (if there were any) did
" not attach and were not imputed to him,
" than he could discover in 1797, when his
" just portion of the opprobrium of the ne-
" gotiations at Lisle, was openly fixed upon
" his head. I have heard this gentleman
" applauded by his friends to the very echo,
" for his consistency and manliness of con-
" duct. Doubtless, by the side of Lord
" Grenville, Mr. Windham has some ad-
" vantage; but positive qualities are nei-
" ther dependent upon comparisons nor
" contrasts—nor is a man therefore a dwarf
" because he happens to stand by a giant.
" As Mr. Windham is now at the head of
" a party, and of a great political principle,
" it is fitting to inquire a little into the
" truth and warrant of a title so high and so

Commons the opposers of the bill were, Lord Folkestone, Mr. Bastard, and Mr. Mitford: in the House of Lords, Lord Caernarvon, Lord Rolle, Lord Radnor, and Lord Cawdor. A majority of these noblemen and gentlemen have constantly been on the side of the ministry; and, during the whole progress of the bill, neither Mr. Windham nor any member of the Grenville family uttered a word against it. Let the public judge, then, of the character and views of those, by whom Mr. Windham and his friends have, on account of what passed in Parliament, relative to this bill, been accused of " throwing *obstacles* in the way of
" officering the militia, and of *discrediting*
" our constitutional army altogether."—— I cannot dismiss this subject without observing, that on *this* occasion, also, the Treasury hireling seems to have done little more than copy the misrepresentations of Mr. Sheridan, who, by way of answer to Lord Folkestone, gave vent to his " true English feeling," and drew forth marks of approbation (from the galleries, I mean, of course) which Madam CINDERELLA, or even [illegible] would not have

" rare!——Is it consistent (with what is it " consistent) to oppose a measure in the " Council, and approve it in the House of " Commons? To appear for peace and con- " demn it; to defend negotiations and la- " ment them; to think war only can save " the country, and be part of a ministry " eternally straining after treaties? Is it " consistent to have been silent at Lisle, and " vociferous at Amiens—to be neutral in " power, and violent out of it—to conceal " opinions as a minister, and promulge them " as the head of a party?—Are these the " qualities and distinctive marks of a man " of place—a man of time—a man of cir- " cumstances—a man of convenience,—or " the masculine, firm, consistent, unaltera- " ble character of Mr. Windham?" Pre- vious to any remarks of mine upon this part of the Treasury pamphlet, it will be right to lay before the reader those of the More Ac- curate Observer, which, as far as they go, are perfectly just. " Of Mr. Windham," says he, " who, it is well known, objected " strenuously to the treaty of Amiens, it is " said, that since he quitted his office, 'he " has made the important confession that " he had always disapproved the project of- " fered by Lord Grenville to the French " Directory.' It is then asked, 'is it con- " sistent to conceal opinions as a minister " and promulge them at the head of a " party?' Certainly Mr. Windham can sel- dom be reproached for *concealing opinions*; " and I had always believed that his disap- " proval of the attempt to treat at Lisle had " been very generally known, even while he " was in the Cabinet: but I have no diffi- " culty in saying, that it may be justifiable " to conceal opinions as a minister, which " there may be no impropriety in avowing " publicly when that restraint is removed, " which is imposed upon a member of the " Administration differing from his col- leagues. It cannot be supposed that the members of the Cabinet Council are una- nimous upon every question which is there decided, and it would be unfit that each member should retire because he may dis- approve of the particular measure which is adopted. If he really thinks that by continuing a member of the Cabinet, un- der such circumstances, he is more likely to forward his general public purposes, than by quitting it, every consideration of conscience and of honour calls upon him to remain, and it is his duty to resign his opinion upon the particular question, on which he differs."——So true is this, that, the present ministers have been in an almost continual state of disagreement, yet none of them have, on that account, thought proper to resign their situations. The reader will not, I am sure, have forgotten, that the Naval Abuse Bill, which the ministers had brought into, and passed through, the House of Commons, was reprobated by the Lord Chancellor in the House of Lords, as the most consummate effort of tyranny. Yet nobody resigned. The First Lord of the Admiralty still held, and still holds, his place. The principle laid down by Lord Hawkes- bury, in the debate upon Mr. Patten's mo- tion, was this: " that those who agreed, or " disagreed with ministers were always un- " derstood to do so, upon a *general system*. " It was not to be expected, that all should " approve every particular point. They " were to overlook minor differences for the " sake of giving effect to the general scheme " of measures and conduct of which they " approve *." Nothing can be fairer than this principle, which was well and most op- portunely laid down, and which produced an effect upon the House and upon the Public extremely unfavourable to Mr. Pitt. What is there, I would ask, that renders this prin- ciple inapplicable to the members of a Ca- binet? Is their duty more, or is it less, sacred than that of members of Parliament? From what consideration, then, is it that " con- cealing opinions" is laudable in the latter, and criminal in the former? Is it said, that the treating with France at Lisle changed the general system, upon which Mr. Wind- ham had entered the Cabinet? If it be so said, I reply, that the change was not com- pleted, it was not *accomplished*; and, that the argument cannot apply, because it is impos- sible to know that Mr. Windham would *not* have left the Cabinet, if a treaty had been concluded upon the basis of the project, of which he disapproved.——When a Cabinet Council meets, is it to be supposed, that all the members are, before a measure is adopt- ed, of the same opinion respecting it; or, is it not well known, that they discuss the sub- ject, and finally determine, as in the Parlia- ment, by the majority of voices? With this fact in view, we must, in case we adopt the reasoning of the Near Observer, conclude, that, after every division, the majority ought to retire from the ministry; an absurdity too gross to be suffered for a moment.—— But, it is asserted, and positively asserted, that, while Mr. Windham " condemned " the negotiations in his mind, he *constant- " ly defended them in Parliament*;" and, if this were worthy of censure, what must we say of those members of Parliament, who

* See Debates, Register, Vol. III. p. 1779.

support ministers generally, and measures particularly, that they disapprove of? The comparison, however, is not fair; for the measure agitated in Parliament, if in the shape of a law, is not yet adopted, and, therefore, to support it against a man's opinion may tend to *produce* a bad measure; whereas to support a cabinet measure can have no such effect, as far, at least, as that measure itself is concerned. The member of Parliament, who supports a parliamentary measure, of which he internally disapproves, assists, if the measure has not as yet received the sanction of Parliament, in doing against his opinion, that which it is in his power to assist in preventing being done; but, a cabinet minister, by defending, in Parliament, a measure which he opposed in the cabinet, only endeavours to make the best of an evil, the existence of which it was not in his power to prevent. Every man, when he enters the cabinet, when he becomes one of his Majesty's ministers, knows, that his office is not merely to devise and execute measures, but, as far as he is able, to support and defend them in Parliament. This is the usage of the country; it is an implied condition upon which he accepts of his appointment. When, therefore, a measure has been adopted by the majority of the cabinet, it has, as to all its binding qualities, been adopted by the whole cabinet, every member of which, if he be able, and if there be a necessity for it, is bound to *speak* in its defence, as well as to endeavour to carry it into execution. Not only, then, would Mr. Windham have been fully justified in publicly defending the negotiation of Lisle, while, in his mind, he condemned it; but, had such defence, from the absence of other ministers, or from whatever cause, become necessary, it would have been his bounden duty to have made it to the utmost of his ability. All this, however, is arguing for argument sake; for, the fact is, that, as there never was any necessity for Mr. Windham's defending the negotiations of Lisle, so, notwithstanding the positive assertion, that "he *constantly de-* "*fended* them in Parliament," he *never* did, from first to last, utter one single word in their defence*! So that, this fact, which was discovered through a recent "important "confession;" this fact, whereon the Treasury slave has founded his charge; whence he has inferred, that Mr. Windham is "a "man of place, a man of time, a man of "circumstances, a man of convenience and "of docile conscience;" this fact turns out, at last, to be a naked unqualified falsehood, invented, purchased, and circulated, for the purpose of misrepresenting and calumniating the character of Mr. Windham, a purpose which, I am sorry to say, seems not to have been too base for the mind of the More Accurate Observer, who, with the smooth tongue of a panegyrist, has taken care to withhold from the person panegyrized all those public virtues, which he possesses in so eminent a degree, and of which, upon such an occasion, it was peculiarly proper to dwell. ——"I should," says he, "have thought, "that even those who objected most to the "opinions of Mr. Windham, would have "seen in him much to admire. His *courage* "and his *manliness*; his acquirements as a "*scholar*; his manners as *a gentleman*; the "*acuteness* and *ingenuity* of his mind, and "the *general disinterestedness* of his conduct. "—A "Near Observer" might easily have "discovered that an aversion to every thing "that is mean is a striking feature of his "character.——Much as I admire the cha- "racter of Mr. Windham, I shall never "point to *prudence* and *discretion* as his most "prominent virtues. Inferior men who "possess more of these qualities, will often "have great advantages over him. Upon "all important political questions, he forms "his own judgment *without any reference to* "*that of others;* and, when he most dis- "agrees in the sentiments of *the public*, his "*chivalrous* nature seems to impose it as an "obligation upon him the more to press "and urge his own opposite opinions,

* This falsehood respecting Mr. Windham's having *defended* the negotiations of Lisle is repeated in another Treasury pamphlet, entitled, "*A Plain Reply*, &c." where, in referring to Mr. Windham's conduct, the writer says: "*It is stated*, that he "stood up in defence of the measure" [the negotiation] "in Parliament." Yes; "it "is stated;" that is true enough, but it is stated falsely, and by no one but the Near Observer. This PLAIN ANSWERER has also *his* statements: he states, for instance, that Lord Temple, fearing to offend his constituents, gave, at first, "his *assent* to "the preliminaries of peace," than which a more barefaced falsehood never found its way into print. The author of this "Plain "Answer" is a perfectly "well-meaning" man; full of all sorts of cant, overcharged with professions of candour, and, as is usual with his sect, he concludes with "a dis- "tinct averment, that there is not a single "fact adduced by him which is not founded "in the *strictest truth*," thus binding up his faggot of falsehoods with a withe of the same sort.

Those opinions also he appears to me often *to push to extremes*. I know not whether the conduct of Mr. Windham be calculated to render him generally popular, but I know, that no man deserves more credit than himself for an *honest* and *conscientious* discharge of public duty."—Yes, a very worthy creature: a mighty good sort of a man: as "well-meaning" a man as need to be: and, as for honesty! as honest and conscientious as the tin-man minister himself! Never, during the whole time that he was in office, either robbed the army of its pay, or went to bed till he had done his day's work!——This is a most excellent character for a footman, and, perhaps, it might suffice for a butler. But, Mr. Windham has other and higher qualities: he has "courage and manliness;" he has great "acquirements as a scholar;" he has "acuteness and ingenuity of mind," and, "generally speaking, he is disinterested." These are all very good in their way, but, though they are always desirable in a gentleman, they are not the qualities which one would *select* as objects of praise, when one was engaged in defending the character of a legislator and a statesman: on such an occasion one would dwell upon his *wisdom* and *public virtue* generally; and particularly upon his *penetration*, his *foresight*, his *perseverance*, his *prudence* and *discretion*. So far, however, from pointing out these qualities in the gentleman, who is the subject of his pretended defence, the More Accurate Observer has thought proper to insinuate, that he has very little prudence or discretion, adding, that, "upon all important political "questions, he forms his own judgment "*without any reference to that of others*, and, "when he most disagrees with the sentiments of the public, his *chivalrous* nature "seems to impose it as an obligation upon "him the more to press and urge his own "opposite opinions, which he appears often "*to push to extremes*." That is to say, right or wrong, he follows his own will, becoming obstinate merely in proportion to the resistance he meets with, and ending, at last, in wildness and extravagance: in short, a perfect Don Quixote in politics. The conclusion is, that, though a very worthy private gentleman, and though he might not do much harm in the Parliament House, he is totally *unfit to be admitted into the Cabinet*. That is the point aimed at: thither tends every word of this double-faced defender: there is the object never lost sight of by the partisans of Mr. Pitt. The readers of the Register will recollect, that, in the month of August, 1802, the True Briton contained a *panegyric* upon Mr. Windham, so much like that which is above quoted, that there can be little doubt of its having proceeded from the same pen, especially when we take into view the connexion between the proprietor of that print and the late Secretaries of the Treasury. On that occasion also, he was complimented for his virtues in *private* life, but, his defender *candidly* acknowledged, that he was not "a *safe politician*," because he was apt to "*push his opinions to extremes*," the very words that the More Accurate Observer now makes use of; and, I am fully persuaded, that Mr. Long was the author of the article, to which I have here referred.* Nor has Mr. Pitt himself at all times been able to refrain from throwing out hints of the same nature and tendency. I shall not easily forget the glee with which he broadly hinted at the *wildness* of Mr. Windham's proposition relative to the reduction of the militia,† a proposition, which, at the end of only eight months, he himself adopts, adopts in the true sense of the word, for he fathers, and actually brings it before the Parliament *as his own!* On that occasion he took precisely the course pursued by his friend the More Accurate Observer: "I know," said he, "the "*warmth* and *noble ardour* of my right honourable friend; I know that no one "burns more than he does with *enthusiastic* "*zeal* and disinterested patriotism; I know, "that there is no *sacrifice* either *in fortune* "or *in person* that he is not perfectly ready "to make for the service of his country;" to which he might have added, "but, I "well know, that *these* are qualities, which, "unaccompanied with others, so far from "recommending my right honourable friend "as a *statesman*, will directly tend to make "people distrust his judgment, and, of "course, to keep aloof from his opinions "and his advice." This he might have added, for, most assuredly, this was what he meant.——Without, however, laying much stress upon the conduct and language of Mr. Pitt himself, with regard to Mr. Windham, it will not, I am sure, be thought unfair, if, in order to remove the misrepresentations of the More Accurate Observer; if, in defence of the character of a gentleman, to whom he has denied every quality of a statesman, I sometimes refer, by way of illustration, to the conduct of the person, whom he has represented, not only as the first of men, but, as "the *only* man capable

* See Register, Vol. II. p. 226.

† Speech of June 23, 1803. See Register, Vol. III. p. 1837.

of saving this country." And here it would, if we had time, be, by no means, impertinent to ask, how this country, after having been so long under the guidance of this first of men, came to *want saving?* Leaving this hint to be improved on by persons of more leisure and of minds better adapted to the unravelling of knotty points, I proceed to inquire of Mr. Long, where he can show me an instance of a want of *prudence* or *discretion* in the conduct of the gentleman, whom he has, as far as his ability would go, robbed of those qualities? To human beings it is not given to talk and act, and *never* to err. I set up no such preposterous claim in behalf of Mr. Windham: still less am I disposed to assert, that he is not chargeable with imprudence or indiscretion, according to the sense in which those words are but too often accepted. In a country, as was once before observed, where, for twenty years past, such infinite pains have been taken (unintentionally, without doubt), by those to whose hands the public affairs have been committed, to eradicate every sentiment of national honour; where the love of military glory is stifled by low and selfish propensities; where the people look to the Bank in place of the arsenals for protection; in such a country caution will ever be the first, and courage the last, quality, that will be generally desired in a statesman. A want of discretion will be regarded as much worse than a want of zeal, ability, or even integrity. Discretion is, I allow, a most essential quality; but, it is *real* discretion, and not that spurious sort of it, which is much more worthy of the name of indecision or pusillanimity, and with the effects of which we are *now* so severely and so justly scourged.——As a proof of Mr. Windham's want of prudence and discretion, his being "unpopular" has been first assumed and then produced; but, allowing, for argument's sake, that he is as unpopular as Mr. Long and the "right honourable relation" would have him, what does that prove? Why, not that he wants prudence and discretion, but that he does not possess *that sort*, which creates popularity; for, if we make popularity the criterion of prudence and discretion, Mr. Sheridan has long been the most prudent and discreet man in England, with the single exception of the prudent and discreet Thomas Paine. But, as to popularity, there are different sorts of that too; the lowest, that which has been obtained in such abundance by Messrs. Sheridan and Paine, is drawn from the ignorance and factiousness of the country; the next worst kind is extorted from selfishness and cowardice, and this falls to the share of the Addingtons and Mr. Pitt; while to Mr. Windham and persons like him there belongs only that applause which is bestowed by *real* loyalty and patriotism, under the control of good sense. That, in the present state of public feeling, the sort of popularity possessed by Mr. Pitt is the best calculated to serve himself, I am quite ready to grant; but, that it is also the best calculated to serve the country, must, I think, be very much doubted by all those, who look upon that country as standing in need of being "*saved.*" If I am asked, what a minister would be able to effect without extensive popularity; I cannot positively answer; but, in my turn, I ask: *what has Mr. Pitt effected*, in an administration of twenty years, having, during the far greater part of the time, a power over the country as absolute as that of the potter over the clay? Has he succeeded in providing for the security and in enhancing the glory of his country; or, has he merely advanced his own consequence and power? Besides, the question is not, what a statesman of high principles and *little* popularity would be able to effect; because, I contend, that the statesman of high principles would have *great* popularity, were there no statesmen of low principles, were there none such to under-bid him with the people.—In some things, as I said before, there is no denying, that Mr. Windham may be deficient in point of prudence and discretion. I am, for instance, ready most freely to allow, that Mr. Windham had not the prudence to abandon a gentleman, who had rendered essential services to the government, and to vote for his being vexed with a groundless prosecution, merely because a contrary line of conduct would have prevented the loss of some trifling portion of popularity. Mr. Windham, when he retired from office, had not, I allow, the discretion to make an offer of remaining, without his colleagues, and to form part of a ministry, who came in upon a principle which he professed to hold in abhorrence. Had Mr. Windham advised the ministers to make peace; had he defended and extolled that peace when made, he certainly would not have been discreet enough to withdraw his councils and to stand aloof from those ministers, the moment the evils of the peace became apparent; and, finally, when the short-lived pacification was turned into a war, exciting discontent and provoking a vote of censure, Mr. Windham assuredly would not have had the prudence to move the previous question, thereby avoiding the reproach of

posing the government, at the same time he left them exposed to public scorn, that, too, principally for being unable extricate themselves from difficulties, into which he himself had assisted to lead them. Windham, "disapproving of the principal measures of Mr. Addington," never would have had the prudence, not only to conceal his disapprobation, from September June, but also to consent, in the mean time, to enter the cabinet with that same Mr. Addington; and, if he had so completely subdued his feelings and disguised his opinions for so long a time, I am sure he would not have suffered them to break forth just *after* the failure of a negotiation for his return to place. Mr. Windham, whenever, unfortunately for his country, his health shall not, for a long period, permit him to attend his duty in Parliament, will not, I am afraid, through the means either of prudence or discretion, be able, all at once, to take upon him the arduous duties of a cabinet-minister, including those of a member of Parliament. Yes, I allow, that Mr. Windham, thinking it right to move for an inquiry relative to the insurrection in Dublin, would not have had the prudence to advise his partisans to vote for the motion, while he himself shrunk from the discussion. All this, and more too, I am ready to allow; but, while I thus unequivocally and unreservedly acknowledge, that, in these respects, Mr. Windham would have discovered a want of prudence and discretion, I will, I hope, be permitted me to state certain other cases, in which he has, or would have had, a sufficiency of prudence and discretion. He was too prudent to be an advocate for parliamentary reform at all, and, if he had been, I am persuaded he never would have broached principles and opinions that would afterwards have been pleaded as an example to, and in justification of, persons accused of high treason, persons brought to trial, too, under his own administration. Mr. Windham would not have had the imprudence to name Mr. Addington and his colleagues for ministers, still less likely is he to have had the indiscretion to eulogize them severally and jointly in the Parliament; but, had he done so, certain I am, that he never would, at a subsequent epoch, have pretended to entertain doubts of their fitness to act in a cabinet with himself. Mr. Windham did not defend either the preliminaries of London or the treaty of Amiens, and, of course, he was not so short-sighted and indiscreet as to expatiate with high-sounding praise on the provision relative to *Malta*, as being wisely calculated to conciliate all parties and "to prove to Europe a *lasting bond of* "*peace*;" nor did he consign himself to everlasting ridicule, by extolling the "establishment of the infant republic of the "*Seven Islands*, as an acquisition of an importance to this country, not inferior to "the *possession of Malta itself*." Mr. Windham, had he been minister of finance, would have been too prudent to obtain from the legislature an act to release the Bank from the penalties attending its advancing money to the government without the sanction of Parliament. In such a measure Mr. Windham would have seen the distant cause of paper depreciation, of the destruction of public credit, and of ministerial independence of both the Parliament and the Crown. Well knowing, that the existence of the State is inseparable from that of the Church, Mr. Windham would never have procured a law to alienate, in part, the property of the latter, thereby undermining one of the principal pillars of that constitution, to preserve which we are now called on to spend our last shilling, and to shed our last drop of blood. Mr. Windham is, by Mr. Pitt, said to be warm, sanguine, and enthusiastic in his pursuits; but, I will venture to say, that he would have been too cautious and prudent to have boasted prematurely of the wondrous effects of a "solid system of finance," and afterwards have converted that system into an instrument of destruction to a fund, on the alleviating operations of which he had pledged his own fame and the faith of the country. Mr. Windham, convinced of the truth of the maxim, that "honesty is the best po-"policy," would have been too prudent to call upon Parliament to impose what is called a restriction upon the Bank, but which is, in reality, a protection to the Bank in with-holding payment of its promissory notes; and, if, in a moment of accumulated difficulty, he had been prevailed upon to adopt so unwise and so fatal a measure, which he had afterwards handed down to a feeble creature that he himself had chosen for his successor, will any man believe, that, at a moment when that feeble creature was sinking under the growing burden so placed upon his shoulders, and when members from every part of the House were ringing in his ears the depreciation of his paper and the diminution of their fortunes; will any man who knows Mr. Windham, believe, that, at such a moment and under such circumstances, he would have sat a *silent*, and, apparently an *indifferent*, not to say a *gratified*, spectator of

the scene? To conclude; the More Accurate Observer has spoken of the "*chivalrous* "nature" of Mr. Windham; and, if by chivalrous he means, generous, faithful, and brave, the epithet is assuredly the most fit that could possibly have been chosen; but, if he wishes to convey an idea of that empty vanity, that braggart enthusiasm, which is inspired by Cockney wine and hyperbolical praise from the lips of hired singers, then I call upon him to point out the time when Mr. Windham could so far forget his rank and his character.

I should now enter on my last proposed point; to wit; *the Parliamentary conduct of Mr. Pitt;* but want of room obliges me to defer it till my next, for which, indeed, I am not sorry, as the delay will afford me an opportunity of introducing some remarks on the PLAIN REPLY, and on the pamphlet of MR. WARD.

TO THE EDITOR

SIR,—I am aware of your respect for the *good intentions* of our present rulers, although you may *occasionally* dissent from their general line of policy. To confirm you in these sentiments of approval of open and fair dealing, I beg leave to state a plain simple matter of fact, (but partially known) upon which very little comment will be necessary. You will, I think, agree with me, that the policy of these cautious, well-meaning gentlemen is, at least, as apparent in this transaction as their good intentions.—— Pending the extra-official negotiation for peace between the French Commissary for the exchange of prisoners and our Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, government received private intelligence of the successful issue of the Egyptian campaign. This you would naturally be led to suppose was considered as a most fortunate and opportune occurrence, that would enable ministers to extend their pretensions and to combat for better terms. But no, Sir, this might have been very beneficial to the public interest; but it would have been a stumbling-block to our cautious, disinterested, and well-meaning ministers. Had the country been acquainted with the intelligence, a clamour more general even than that which did arise, would have been excited by our too great concessions. Lord Hawkesbury would have been compelled to dance attendance upon Mr. Otto some months longer, or the citizen would have broken off all communication with them; and have shut his office-door in the face of the cringing bevy, had they presumed to increase in their demands, or name any terms which he himself or his imperial master did not dictate. What then was their policy to put the intelligence into the fire, and keep their own counsel whilst they subscribed to the ignominious concessions of the preliminary treaty, rendered tenfold more ignominious afterwards, by their sanction of a departure from many of its best and most defensible points? No: this would have been something like a *bold measure*, and therefore, not in harmony with their creed. Too tender-hearted to agitate the public mind unnecessarily, and too anxious for peace on any terms to risk offending the august plenipotentiary they converted that into a bribe for a national disgrace, of which they might have availed themselves to secure a national advantage. They liberally and candidly imparted the information to Mr. Citizen Otto, and urged the probability of the public disapproval of the terms should their promulgation be delayed till after the arrival of the Egyptian news, as a plea for accelerating the signature of the preliminary treaty. That this is fact, literal and unvarnished, I do not wish to rest upon anonymous assertion. Let the question of its authenticity be put to Mr. St. John, brother-in-law to Mr. Otto. He cannot, will not deny it. He will acknowledge, that he is not only acquainted with the fact, but that he was privy to this most unnatural transaction at the period of its occurrence,——I am, Sir, yours,

March 2, 1801. LE VOICI.

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD REDESDALE.

MY LORD,—I cannot refrain from communicating to your lordship a few observations on your correspondence with the Earl of Fingall and the Rev. Dr. Coppinger. Your lordship, in making mention of the late Dr. Hussey, to Lord Fingall, could not at the time have recollected, that one of the first precepts of Christianity is not to speak ill of the dead. In your answer to the Rev. Dr. Coppinger, you appear, my Lord, to be so firmly resolved to continue in error, that you even seem to consider the Rev. Mr. O'Neil's justification of himself as a most unpardonable crime. Indeed, your lordship shews such a peevishness and fretfulness of temper, both to Lord Fingal and Dr. Coppinger, whenever they presume to disagree with you, that I deem it a hopeless task to attempt to set your lordship right. I cannot, my Lord, give you a stronger proof of the sincere and steady loyalty of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, than that it has remained undiminished or unshaken, not-

hstanding your lordship's theological cor-pondence.—Your lordship's appointment your present exalted station, was, in my nion, as great a misfortune to yourself as this unhappy country.—As Solicitor or torney-General, or even as Speaker of the use of Commons, you might, my lord, e passed with some degree of approba-n. Had you occupied either of the above nations, till the day of your death, you ght possibly, have been regretted as a st worthy, though not as a brilliant, n. But, my Lord, I regard it as a real sfortune to your lordship, that it should e pleased our most Gracious Sovereign to ce you at the head of the Chancery of land. I shall conclude, my Lord, with a se of Voltaire's, in his Henriad, in speak-g of Henry the Third, he says,

"Tel brille au second rang qui s'éclipse au premier,
Il devint lâche Roi intrépide Guerier."

I am, my Lord, your lordship's most obedient humble servant,

AN IRISH ROMAN CATHOLIC.

rogheda, 4th March, 1804.

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,—The perusal of Lord Redesdale's swer to Dr. Coppinger in your Political egister, instantly brought to my recollec-n the fable of the wolf and the lamb; for s lordship must have been strangely at a ss how to pick a quarrel with the good shop, when he determined to break with n for calling the Rev. Mr. O'Neil's narra-e "an humble remonstrance," whereas is is only the name by which this much jured man has thought proper to entitle it mself. It is just as if, Mr. Cobbett, his rdship were to quarrel with me for calling ur valuable publication "the Political egister," because he would contend, per-ps, that it contained sentiments contrary sound policy and good government. owever, I will venture to assert, in behalf his lordship, that his former exertions in vour of English Catholics prove, that he s not always possessed his present intole-nt way of thinking, and the illiberal prin-ples he now professes. That the same irit of intolerance pervades every part of e present administration, I could pro-ce too many melancholy proofs. I have tely heard from unquestionable authori-, that in some cases, which it is not, in is place, and upon this occasion, neces-ry minutely to particularize, Catholics ve been forbidden to have any inter-ourse with a priest of their communion, ven in his dying moments, and to corrobo-rate this assertion, I will relate an anecdote which I know to be a fact. Soon after the breaking out of the present war, the Bishop, (a French Bishop) who then superintended the spiritual concerns of the French in this kingdom, requested permission of government to send down a French priest to the assistance of about 2,000 French prisoners who were confined at Stapleton near Bristol. He was answered categorically in the negative; and upon demanding an explanation, he was informed, that these men could not be allowed any spiritual assistance but *from a clergyman of the established church!* Such a spirit, Mr. Cobbett, reminds one of the apostolical labours of Cortez and Pizarro, which inspired the Indians with such a horror of the Christian religion, that some of them declared they would not run the risk of going to a heaven where they might chance to meet with Spaniards. But, to proceed in my narrative; an English Catholic clergyman resident in Bristol, who is well known and respected there, conceiving this prohibition to arise from a distrust government might entertain of the French priests, very charitably offered his services to attend these prisoners, and, indeed, very urgently solicited government to this effect, but all to no purpose. The French Bishop then returned to the charge, and after repeated solicitations has at length obtained leave to send down a French priest there at his own expense, but on condition, it is said, I hope, incorrectly, that he should not attend the prison, but only the hospital, and with this express injunction, that he should not be admitted to see a sick prisoner *till he was become speechless!!!* Now it is well known, that the chief consolation of the Catholic on his death bed, is to disburthen his conscience to a priest of his communion, who, if he believes him to be truly penitent, absolves him in the name of his God nearly in the same form of words which is put down in the Book of Common Prayer. The absurdity therefore of such an injunction, would force a smile, were it not instantly checked by the unparallelled barbarity of the proceeding. We read, indeed, in history, sometimes with horror, of persons being denied all the comforts of religion at their last hour; but for the honour of humanity, such instances are rare. I am well persuaded, Mr. Cobbett, that the tenets of the Roman Catholic religion inculcate nothing but loyalty and obedience to the laws; but I know also that Catholics are men, and that it is not in human nature that they should be in love with a government, who pub-

licly profess such principles of intolerance and oppression as give them no hopes of favour or redress. —— I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

A FRIEND TO TOLERATION.

March, 6th, 1804.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

CONSPIRACY AT PARIS.—The whole of the official documents, relating to this transaction, having been inserted in another part of the Register, it is not necessary to enter here into any other remarks upon it than such as naturally arise from the desire, which every honourable Englishman must feel, to see his country and its government stand clearly acquitted of the charge of having, either directly or indirectly, stimulated any persons whatever to commit an act so atrocious as that of assassination. Pichegru is expressly stated to have been one of the conspirators, and to have been at Paris on the 15th of February. Now, here is a positive fact, which may, if false, and which, it is to be hoped, will, meet with a positive contradiction, supported by incontrovertible proof. It is understood, both in England and upon the Continent, that Pichegru has, for some time past, received a regular salary from our government; and, though it is by no means impossible, that he might, notwithstanding that circumstance, go to France without the knowledge of the government, yet, seeing that the character of the nation is implicated, if it can be proved that he was in England, at the time above-mentioned, such proof ought to be procured and published, without delay. If this proof cannot be had, it would by no means follow, that our government hatched and encouraged the conspiracy, but every one would deeply regret the want of such means of justification.—With regard to the right which a French royalist, who has *never broken his allegiance*, has to dethrone the Consul, by any means in his power, some *doubts* may be entertained; but, as the right, if it exist at all, must partake more of the nature of a duty than of a privilege, and can have no other basis than that of the prior obligation of allegiance, it never can be conscientiously exercised by any one, who has heretofore broken the bonds of that allegiance; and, therefore, if this doctrine be sound, the killing of Buonaparté by Pichegru or Moreau must be regarded as murder.—As to us, or our government, God forbid, that we, to all our other disgrace, should add that of having, in anywise, aided in the perpetration of such a deed. We have a right to kill the French, and the Consul, of course, in war, if we can: we have a ri[gh]t to engage Frenchmen in our cause, and [to] employ them in descents upon the coast, [or] as spies, in the camps, the garrisons, or [in] part of the territories of the enemy: [we] have a right even, by the means of mone[y] or otherwise, to excite insurrections and civ[il] war in their country, particularly if our object be to produce, by these means, a re[-] storation of the rightful heir to the throne: after, however, having made peace with the Consul, and thereby solemnly, though tac[it]ly, acknowledged the legitimacy of his authority, the motive of restoration adds, perhaps, little or nothing to our belligerent rights, in this respect. At any rate, here *our* rights end. *We* have no right to com[-] mit, or to abet, any act of violence upon the Consul any more than we formerly should have had to commit, or abet, such an act upon a king of France; and, therefore, [as] we are, in the French official paper, and in official documents emanating from the go[-] vernment; as we are thus, in the face of the world, distinctly charged with this most base and perfidious deed, let us hope, that his Majesty's ministers possess both the means and the inclination to make out our justification; for, we may be assured, that our *silence* will not be construed as our contempt of the charge, but, as a proof of our guilt. It has been stated in some of the London newspapers, that Pichegru was seen here on the very day that the French official documents declare him to have been at Paris. If this be true, the proof is easy, and, not a moment ought to be lost in pro[-] ducing it. Perhaps some other fact may present itself: the ministers ought best to know what to do, but every one must allow that they ought to do something.

IRISH EXCHANGE.—On the 2d instant, upon the motion of Mr. Foster, a committee of the House of Commons, which is now sitting, was appointed to examine into the causes of the high rate of exchange between England and Ireland, and of the depreciation of the bank paper of the latter country. During the debate upon this motion, some very curious facts transpired. Mr. Ponsonby said, that it was almost impossible for any gentleman in that House to judge of the inconvenience and distress, in fact, which were felt in that country in consequence of the scarcity of specie, without he had been there to behold it. From his own knowledge he could state, that in many places there was not any thing in circulation but exceedingly bad adulterated copper, a base metal for shillings, or notes for 6d. 1s. or, what was reckoned a large amount, as high as 3s. 6

inconvenience to the lower classes was equently much greater than to the more lent; for a poor man frequently, owing per- to his not being so well provided with the ns of preserving his notes, lost or destroyed m; the banker was glad of the circum- ce, as he paid only for notes that were pro- ed to him. He added, that he himself paid, last week, 2s. 4d. premium upon guinea in Dublin. Mr. Corry, the Chan- or of the Irish Exchequer, said, that the *best informed men* were of opinion that the remedy was beyond the power of Parlia- ment." I can hardly flatter myself, that Corry meant to pay me a compliment, I certainly did give this very opinion in Register of the 18th ultimo, p. 249. By gure of speech somewhat too bold, per- s, Parliament is represented as omnipo- t; but, if it should succeed in raising the h bank paper to a level with gold, I shall e no hesitation to apply the epithet in a ral sense.——Lord Castlereagh said, "he was *glad* the motion had been made, but did not see what good it could produce." e cause of his joy was not stated. The parity between gold and paper, he said, s readily allowed; "but, the *difficulty* was to preserve the gold in circulation, where every person was so eager to hoard t." If the reader should stare, and look ut, with some degree of impatience, for object of this grave and important ob- vation, his lordship will compensate him h an idea, which I will pledge my word be perfectly original; viz. that "it was not that the paper was *depreciated*, but hat the guinea was *risen*, in value!!!" d, let it be remembered, that this was ted in the Parliament House, and by a nister too! by one of those men, to whom safety and honour of the nation, to whom liberties of the people and existence of monarchy, are all committed! Why, n, dollars have *risen* too, for they now s at five shillings, whereas their sterling ue is only four shillings and sixpence. t the dollar is the same in shape, bulk, and ight; just the same that it was when it ssed for 4s. 6d. but nine of them will w buy as much English bank-paper as ten them used to buy. "Why," says his lord- p, "a pound note is still a pound note, but a dollar is five shillings, and it used to be only four and sixpence; therefore, the note is not fallen, but the dollar risen." uppose, he would say this, for it is evi- nt, that his position is to be made out by other mode of reasoning; and this rea- ing must give the world a pretty impres- n enough of the minds of the persons, who are at present entrusted with the management of public affairs in this country. Mr. Fox observed, "that it was not the "guinea that was raised, but the paper that "was depreciated; not the guinea that was "worth two shillings and four pence more, "but the paper that was worth so much "less." It is a wonder that he regarded any observation as necessary; but, perhaps, he thought it would be a shame for a notion to go forth to the world, that so gross an absurdity should pass current in such a place. ——Mr. Dick was of opinion, "that not "only those discussions that were instituted "in the House, but the speculations that "were circulated through every part of the "country, *were extremely disadvantageous*, "and had a tendency to *augment the evil* "*they were meant to remedy*." This opinion was also expressed by Sir John Newport; and a particular allusion having, by the former gentleman, been made to the pamphlet of Lord King, as containing some of these mischievous speculations, it was observed by Mr. Fox, that Lord King's pamphlet could have no other influence than such as was derived from *argument*. He said, "the "more such subjects were discussed the "better; for he had no idea of that security "and confidence in any set of principles, "that rested only upon *silence*, and that "must fall the moment they became the "subject of discussion." The doctrine of Mr. Dick is, however, by no means new: the present ministry have stood upon it from the first hour of their coming into office. The discussion "will augment the evil it "is meant to remedy." That is, it will hasten the depreciation of bank notes. If a maker and utterer of bank notes were to make such a remark, it would be natural enough; for, the only evil he can perceive, is the destruction of his trade. But, from a member of Parliament one would have expected something else. Suppose discussion does augment the evil: if that be a reason why discussion ought not to take place, the ministers are in a state of perfect security, and so they must remain, till the whole fabrick of the monarchy comes tumbling about their ears. The discussion of the terms of a disgraceful treaty, for instance, cannot produce a remedy; it cannot, and is not intended to, annul the treaty, and it certainly must have a "tendency to augment the evil," by extending the knowledge of the disgrace. But, will Mr. Dick say, that, for this reason, a disgraceful treaty ought not to be discussed? It is to be hoped, that, by this time, he is convinced of the fallacy of his argument.——Besides, as to the people of Ire-

land, will Mr. Dick say, that they ought not to be informed, not only of the present state of the currency of their country, but of its probable fate? Why are they to be led on in the dark to the moment of their ruin? Sound policy, which is seldom or never at variance with sound morality, dictates, that the affairs of the Irish bank, that every fact relating to Irish currency, should be laid bare as soon as possible. The ministers and the bankers have, indeed, no desire to see this publicity take place; but, at the present moment, their interest appears to be quite distinct from the interests of the community.—But, there is another, and most powerful reason for inquiring into the state of both the Irish and English currency; namely, to ascertain the degree of blame, which, in this respect attaches to the minister. He seemed to sit in the House of Commons an unconcerned auditor of the debate on Irish paper, the burden of which devolved upon Mr. Corry, who only said, that there was no remedy for the evil: "What can't be cur'd, must be endur'd." Does the Doctor, however, in good earnest, imagine, that *he* has no concern in this matter? And, that his responsibility is thus to be got rid of by the pronouncing of an old rhyming maxim? Does he hope, that the parliament and the nation will always be so put off? He will, perhaps, say, that the depreciation of the paper has not been the consequence of *his* measures. It may be so; but, it happens in his hands. The event takes place during the administration, into which he voluntarily entered. He did not devise the measure of bank restriction, for instance; but he has persevered in it, and that too during *peace* as well as during war. There can be no doubt that the stoppage of cash payments is the *immediate* cause of the depreciation of the bank paper, and no one will, or can, deny, that the Doctor has procured laws to be passed to authorize this stoppage. The question is not, whether the depreciation could have been avoided, or not, by any measures that could have been adopted, since the *accession* of the Doctor? but, simply, whether it has taken place, or not, or has, in any degree, increased, during his administration? Like the tenant of a house (as he literally is, indeed, the tenant of the Treasury) he is called upon, and we have a right to call upon him, for every due and duty attached to it, though accruing previous to his entering into it. He willingly snatched at the power and emolument attached to the office of minister; and, did he not take [illegible] responsibility along with them? The [illegible] sponsibility, not only for what was *beg*[illegible] but for what was *continued*, during his [illegible] ministration? Either he approved of [illegible] financial system of his predecessor, or [illegible] disapproved of it: if the latter, why did [illegible] not abandon it? and, if the former, wh[illegible] will he now find a reason whereon to grou[illegible] his right of exemption from its cons[illegible] quences? If Mr. Pitt's financial measur[illegible] were such as necessarily tended to produ[illegible] a depreciation of bank paper, and, of cour[illegible] the destruction, or total suspension, of [illegible] public credit, it was the duty of his su[illegible] cessor to institute a parliamentary inquir[illegible] and to bring him to a due responsibility [illegible] his conduct; and, if Mr. Pitt's financ[illegible] measures had not such a tendency, if th[illegible] did not necessarily lead to the depreciat[illegible] of bank paper, that depreciation must [illegible] attributed to the Doctor, and all the r[illegible] sponsibility falls upon him. To admit [illegible] the contrary principle, to allow the Doc[illegible] to justify himself upon the plea that he h[illegible] nothing to do with the *cause*, and Mr. P[illegible] to justify himself upon the plea that he h[illegible] nothing to do with the *effect*, would be [illegible] render ministerial responsibility somethi[illegible] worse than farcical. The supposition p[illegible] one in mind of the two "well-meaning" men and the leg of mutton, mentioned [illegible] the fable. The tallest took it, and gave [illegible] to the shortest; and, when the butch[illegible] called upon them for responsibility, th[illegible] shortest swore he did not take it, and th[illegible] tallest swore he had not got it. The reade[illegible] will remember, and Mr. Addington will d[illegible] well not to forget, the consequences that e[illegible] sued.—In quitting this topic, it seems nece[illegible] sary just to notice a debate, which took pla[illegible] in the House of Lords, on the 5th instan[illegible] upon the motion for going into a committ[illegible] upon the Irish bank restriction bill. Som[illegible] observations of lords King, Grenville, a[illegible] Auckland shall be more fully dwelt up[illegible] another time; but, it is impossible to res[illegible] for one moment, the temptation to refer [illegible] a "consolatory" statement, made by th[illegible] "solid and safe politician", Lord Hawk[illegible] bury, who, in order to *prove* (mind to *prove*) that the increase of paper did not tend [illegible] drive hard money out of the countr[illegible] stated, from the book of the sprightly [illegible] Chalmers, or that of the no less sprigh[illegible] Mr. George Rose, that, since the reign [illegible] William and Mary inclusive, there h[illegible] been coined at the mint, money to [illegible]

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unt of £95,000,000 sterling, and that his sum, £64,000,000 had been coined g the reign of his present Majesty, of that £64,000,000 there had been ed £32,000,000 within the last twenty s.—Well! And what then? How this prove, that paper does *not* drive gold out of the country, unless you can e, that there is all this gold in the try *now*? Really, if one did not know contrary, one would believe, that this ement had been brought forward to e exactly the contrary of what it was nded to prove; for, if, within these nty years there has been a coinage to amount of £32,000,000, and if there carcely a guinea left in the country, is t a pretty clear proof, that the paper driven out the gold, especially when it dmitted, that, before the great increase paper, gold was the chief currency of country, and that there was then plenty coin in circulation, though the coinage not a fifth part so great? Little, then, e "consolation", which men of even inary understandings will derive from statement of his lordship, who bids us allow naked in December's snow by arely thinking of the summer's heat;" displays before us the goodly and glitg hoards, which have issued from the er, and which we have had the folly exchange for *promissory notes* which the misers are *not obliged to pay!*

IRISH GOVERNMENT. — On the 7th ant, a motion was made, in the House Commons, by Sir John Wrottesley, for House to go into a committee, "to investigate the conduct of the Irish government, relative to the affair of the 3d of July last." Upon this motion there s a very long and interesting debate, ich was opened in very good manner by mover, who was supported by Mr. nning, Lord Temple, General Tarle-, Mr. Fox, Mr. Windham, Lord de quiere, Dr. Laurence, and Mr. Grey. e speakers on the ministerial side were rd Castlereagh, Mr. Archdall, Mr. k, Mr. Tierney, the Attorney General, the Doctor. To analyse this debate uld be impossible in the space now be- me; I shall, therefore, confine my rerks, at present, to what was said rela- to the conduct of Lord Redesdale, ich, indeed, was by far the most imtant part of the discussion, though ry part of it was important.—Mr. Can-g, the whole of whose speech discover- very great powers both of conception of utterance, said, that "*all* the Ca- "tholics were, by a person high in autho- "rity in Ireland, implicated in this rebellion, "and had their *share of the guilt* imputed "to them.—Mr. Canning said, that the "document to which he was now referring "he had read with shame and indignation, "more than he had felt at any other he had "seen in the whole course of that unfor- "tunate matter altogether. His noble "friend had tried to throw oblivion over "former differences in that distracted "country. Ministers, indeed, ought to "take care, as much as in them lay, that no "ancient differences should be revived; "that no flames of old animosities should be "re-kindled: if that was the policy, as he "was sure it was the duty of government, "ill had that end been endeavoured to be "accomplished. Good God! that, in the "19th century, there should be found a "man of great talents, fitted for great good "in a state; of great learning too, but that "which he had lately displayed, he could "almost have wished that nobody had it "now, for he had hoped it had been buried "at least a century ago;—that this learned "person should fill the office of a great le- "gislator, and the highest as a legal magis- "trate, and that he should be appointed to "preside in the place where that anti- "quated doctrine could do effectual mis- "chief. He did not say it was a fault, but "it certainly was a great misfortune, that "such a person, with such sentiments, "should be placed in such a station. He "could not think it likely that Ireland "should be tranquil. He could not think "it likely that these pictures of quietness, "contentment, and happiness, which had "been so gratuitously afforded to the "House, and so diligently laid before it, "that the rebellion was at an end for ever "—that the principle on which it was fo- "mented was destroyed—that Ireland was, "by the rooting out of prejudices, become "one body of harmony in temper and "united in object: he could entertain no "hopes of this nature, if the policy was to "be that which he had just alluded to. He "was not bringing that to which this policy "related, now before the House: he "would give government credit for their "intention to do away all animosity in "in Ireland; but when he saw a minister "of the government there, the highest in "legal authority, he did not say that this "was to be considered, nor did he state it "as a fire-brand which threatened the "country with destruction, but he did "state, that great officer as enjoying the "full confidence and a great portion of the

"power of government, and whether he "was the intended vehicle of publishing "such sentiments as those of government, "he did not know, yet it had *all the effect* "*of design*, and he could not help looking "upon the uttering of such sentiments as "conveying to the public the *animus* of go-"vernment. Whether these sentiments "were really the sentiments of the govern-"men', or no, he would not pretend to say, "but the great character to which he had "alluded was a member of the Irish go-"vernment, and the government in which "such a mind predominated—that was to "say, a mind governed by such principles "as had been published by that great per-"son, had great influence, where such a "spirit presided, and where such a spirit "ruled, and such opinions were cherished, "the government, influenced by it, he was "sure, could not be conciliating, nor agree-"able, nor could hold forth any prospect "of comfort, to say nothing of happiness, "to the Irish people; a government which "permitted itself to cherish such sen-"timents, discovered an *animus* that afford-"ed no comfort to those by whom it was "governed; it was an imprudent govern-"ment, and very ill adapted for even the "safety of the public."—Mr. Fox severely reprobated the conduct of Lord Redesdale, in the correspondence with Lord Fingall. He said, that "the Irish nation, with all "their generosity, their genius, and their "bravery, had never been highly famed "for their discretion; it must, therefore, "have been very gratifying to them, to find, "that a grave English Chancellor, sent "over to them, had been guilty of an in-"discretion, to which, indeed, nothing "could be second; for it was of that sort "that nothing *simile et secundum* could exist. "These letters were more than indiscreet. "They *must* be infinitely mischievous, if "the author of them continued to fill his "present situation."——Mr. Windham was of the same opinion as Mr. Canning and Mr. Fox. He said, that "the senti-"ments expressed by Lord Redesdale in his "letters, went to the total extinction of all "legal opinion. They were bad in theo-"logy, still worse in politics, and deserved "the censure of every liberal and enlighten-"ed mind. The opinions of the writer "were the more liable to reprehension, as it "would be recollected by the House that "when the revival of Martial Law in Ire-"land was agitated, *his* name and high si-"tuation were held out as a *certain guarantee* "of the *mildness* and equity of the govern-"ment."——Mr. Windham, doubtless, alluded here to that memorable evening, the 29th of July last, when the House of Commons saw a bill, subjecting the sister kingdom to martial law, spring up, like the plants in a pantomime, and arrive at the last stage of maturity, in the space of a few hours. On that occasion Mr. Windham asked for a *day's* delay; a short respite of only 24 hours, to consider whether there were sufficient cause for rendering four millions of people liable to all the severities of martial law, such law, it might in some cases happen, as the injured and insulted O'Niel, was subjected to the execution of. No: even twenty four hours; nay, even one hour was not allowed; and, the then misled, and now indignant public, will recollect the abuse heaped upon Mr. Windham by the Receiver of Cornwall, and by the newspaper hirelings of government, merely because he asked for that short delay. That public will also recollect, that one of the securities, which the Doctor held forth to Parliament, for the *discreet* and *mild* exercise of the uncontrouled power that it was called upon to lodge in the hands of the executive branch of the Irish government, was, the assistance which the government derived from Lord Redesdale. The Doctor's words were as follows: "when it "considered, Sir, that Lord Hardwicke "is assisted in *all* his councils, by the "advice of that *amiable* nobleman and "*truly great character*, who so long adorned "that chair, in which you now sit; when this "circumstance is considered, Sir, no one can "entertain even the slightest apprehension "that any act of *severity*, that any *indiscreet* "or *illiberal* exercise of authority, will pro-"ceed from the law, which the House is "now called on to pass, without that *delib-*"*eration* and *delay*, which the right honour-"able gentleman wishes to produce."—The Doctor was right: his confidence was perfectly well founded: the House passed the bill without hesitation: it rendered the people of Ireland liable to martial law: it consigned them to the absolute power of a person, whom the minister declared to be assisted in *all* his councils by that *amiable* nobleman and *truly great character*, the *mild* and *discreet* author of the letters to Lord Fingall! Mr. Windham was abused, out of doors, by all that low and numerous herd, whose fears, rather than their loyalty or their patriotism, led them to applaud, that, which, in their consciences they must have disapproved; Mr. Sheridan poured down upon him a most copious and nauseous discharge of his "true English feeling;"

it is more than probable, that Mr. Long and Mr. Pitt would say he was *imprudent*.—— In the debate of the 7th instant, none of the *ministers* attempted to defend the "*truly great character*." Neither Lord Castlereagh, nor Mr. Yorke, nor the Doctor, said a word in reply to the remarks that were made on his conduct. Mr. Archdale said a few words, but the tendency of them was, to *disclaim*, on the part of the government, the sentiments promulgated by Lord Redesdale. "He regretted," he said, "that this Correspondence had been brought before the public. He deprecated any discussion on the subject. It was a subject unfit, in his opinion, for discussion in this, or, he was almost disposed to say, *in any other public place*. He did not think it fair to hold up the opinions delivered even by the greatest law officer in Ireland, *as necessarily the opinion of the government*. The *animus* of the government, as a right honourable gentleman had termed it, could not be derived from this source. The Lord Chancellor of Ireland *might* be a great man in his own department, and might render the government essential service. It struck him, however, that *law* characters should interfere as little as possible with politics. Their interference might often be inconvenient, and *seldom useful*."——This was not amiss, at a moment when, out of twelve persons sitting upon the Treasury bench, *ten* were what is called *bred to the law*; a circumstance, which Mr. Archdale certainly overlooked.——Even the Attorney-General, the brother-in-law of Lord Redesdale, did not attempt to justify the sentiments contained in that "*amiable* nobleman's" inexorable homilies. He insisted, that when the Lord Chancellor was about to sign a commission of the peace for a Roman Catholic nobleman, it was a proper enough time to remind him of his duties as a subject, and to endeavour to guard him against that misuse of it, which he might otherwise have fallen into. This recalls to mind what some one said upon the subject at first: that the "*amiable* nobleman" gave this commission of the peace as parents give fair-day money to their children, that is, accompanied with caution upon caution not to make themselves sick; but, the comparison does not hold; for in the present instance, it is the cautions that have the nauseating quality, and that have, accordingly, disgusted and disordered a whole nation.

VOLUNTEER SYSTEM.—Since the date of the last Register, the bill for consolidating the Volunteer acts has been discussed in a committee of the whole house. There is not time to notice the alterations and arrangements that have been made in it; but, one suggestion of Mr. Pitt's must not be passed over even for a moment. He wished for some regulation to obviate the inconvenience, that must arise from persons preventing their servants and apprentices entering into, or attending their duty in, Volunteer corps; observing, that farmers and manufacturers *erroneously* supposed, that they had a right to *all* the time and labour of their servants and apprentices! Why really, this is Robert Shallow, Esq. the second. What! prevent men from having the command of their servants and apprentices! And yet oppose, at the same time, the notions of democrats and jacobins? And yet call upon us to fight for the preservation of the constitution? And yet tell us that the volunteer system is intended to *prevent* the invasion of property, the subversion of the laws, the dissolution of all the bonds of society?——These projects, these innovations, these new and daring notions and schemes; this is what I dread in Mr. Pitt, whose great mind seems to be upon the rack to discover some captivating novelty, something that shall decompose the whole fabrick, in order that he may have the merit of putting it together again.——But, it would be curious to know, by *what means* Mr. Pitt would accomplish his object? If he compel me to permit my servant to be a volunteer, that is to say, to dispense with great part of his service; if he make my servant, in some sort, my master, will he prevent me from *discharging* the said servant; will he compel me to remain in this sort of servitude myself? And, if he will not suffer me to discharge him, because he is a volunteer, how will he prevent me from discharging him because he has black hair, or because his complexion, or countenance does not please me? Those, indeed, who are so unfortunate as to have *apprentices* cannot so easily escape the provisions that may be enacted upon this subject; but, before any such provisions are introduced, let us hope, that Parliament will duly consider the consequences that may result from them. I dislike the volunteer system for many reasons, but for none more, than because it is a ground work, on which Mr. Pitt is continually erecting some dangerous innovation: nothing else seems to be of any importance in his eyes: the situation of Ireland, the ruinous aspect of public credit, subjects heretofore apparently so near to his heart, do not now even attract his notice: the volunteers! the volunteers! that new and numerous body of armed men, is the only object of his care.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

DOCUMENTS RELATIVE TO THE CONSPIRACY DISCOVERED AT PARIS.

Report of the Grand Judge, Minister of Justice, to the Government, 17th February, 1804.

Citizen First Consul—New plots have been hatched by England; this was the case even amidst the peace which she swore to maintain, and when she violated the treaty of Amiens, she counted less on her strength than on the success of her machinations. But government was vigilant; the steps of the agents of the enemy were followed by the eye of justice: the people of London were no doubt expecting to hear the explosion of that mine which had been dug under our feet. At any rate, the most ominous reports were spread, and they were indulging the most criminal hopes; on a sudden the agents of the conspiracy were arrested; proofs have accumulated, and they are so strong and so evident, that they carry with them convictions to every mind. Georges and his band of assassins had remained in the pay of England; their agents were still traversing La Vendée, Morbihan, the Côtes du Nord, and were endeavouring, but in vain, to find partisans of whom they were deprived by the moderation of government and of the laws.—Pichegru, unmasked by the events which preceded the 18th of Fructidor, year 5, (Sept. 5, 1797), and unveiled, in particular, by that correspondence which General Moreau had addressed to the directory, had carried with him to England his hatred against his country. In the year eight he and Villot were in the train of the armies of our enemies, in order to unite with the brigands of the South. In the year nine he conspired with the committee of Barenth, and since the peace of Amiens he has still been the hope and the counsellor of the enemies of France. The British perfidy associated Georges with Pichegru, the infamous Georges with that Pichegru whom France had esteemed, whom she wished for a long time to consider as incapable of treachery! In the year eleven a criminal reconciliation united Pichegru and Moreau, two men between whom honour ought to place eternal hatred. The police seized at Calais one of their agents, at the moment when he was returning a second time from England. This man had in his possession documents which confirmed the reality of a reconciliation at that time inexplicable, had not the bonds which united them been formed by criminality. On the arrest of this agent General Moreau appeared for a moment to be agitated. He took some private steps to ascertain whether government was informed of it; but it was passed over in silence, and he himself, when he recovered his tranquillity, concealed from government an event which could not but awaken its vigilance. He observed silence even when Pichegru was publicly admitted into the councils of the British ministry, when he united in a notorious manner with the enemies of France. Government was disposed to consider his silence as arising from the dread of a confession, which would have humbled him, as it considered his retirement from public affairs, his suspicious connexions, and his imprudent language, as the effect of peevishness and discontent. General Moreau, who could not fail of being suspected, since he maintained a secret correspondence with the enemies of his country, and who, in consequence of this suspicion, which was too well founded, would at any other period have been arrested, was suffered to enjoy in tranquillity his honours, an immense fortune, and the kindness of the republic. Events, however, rapidly succeeded each other: Lajollais, the friend and confidant of Pichegru, went privately from Paris to London, returned to Paris carried to Pichegru the ideas of General Moreau—carried back to Moreau the ideas and designs of Pichegru and his associates; the brigands of Georges were preparing, even in Paris, every thing that was necessary for the execution of their common designs. A place was assigned between Dieppe and Treport, at a distance from molestation or the eye of vigilance, where the brigands of England, brought over in English ships, landed without being observed, and where they found corrupted men to receive them—men paid to conduct them during the night from fixed stations, previously agreed on, and thus to convey them to Paris.——At Paris lurking places were procured for them in houses hired beforehand, where they had confidants to protect them: they had some of these in different quarters and streets at Chaillot, in the Rue de Bacq, in the Fauxbourg St. Marceau, in the Marais. A first debarkation was effected, consisting of Georges himself, and eight of his brigands. Georges returned to the coast to assist at the landing of Coster St. Victor, condemned by a sentence passed in the affair of Nivôse 3, and of ten other brigands. In the commencement of the present month a third landing was effected, it consisted of Pichegru, Lajollais, Armand, Gaillard, brother of Raould, John Marie, one of the first confidants of Georges, and some other brigands of the same stamp;

Georges with Joyau, called d'Assar, Saint Vincent and Picot, went to receive this third debarkation: the whole assembled at the farm *de la Poterie*. A fourth landing was expected; the vessels were in sight, but contrary winds prevented them from approaching: a few days ago they were still making signals. Georges and Pichegru arrived at Paris, where they lodged in the same house surrounded by about 30 brigands, under the command of Georges; an interview took place between them and Moreau: the place, the day, and the hour, where the first conference was held, are known—a second was agreed on, but did not take place; a third and a fourth took place, even in the house of General Moreau. The presence of Georges and Pichegru at Paris, these conferences with Gen. Moreau, are confirmed by incontestable and numerous proofs. Georges and Pichegru have been traced from house to house. Search has also been made for those who assisted at their landing; those who, under the cloud, conducted them from post to post; those who gave them an asylum at Paris: their confidants and accomplices. Lajollais, their principal agent, and General Moreau, are arrested; the effects and papers of Pichegru have been seized, and the police is employing the greatest activity to find him. England wished to overthrow our government, and by this overthrow to effect the ruin of France, to deliver it up to ages of civil war and confusion. But to overturn a government, maintained by the affection of thirty millions of citizens, and surrounded by a brave, powerful, and faithful army, was a task, not only superior to the strength of England, but of all Europe. England, therefore, had no hopes of accomplishing her design, but by the assassination of the First Consul, and by covering this assassination under the shadow of a man who was still protected by the remembrance of his services. I must add, that the citizens need be under no uneasiness. The greater part of the brigands heve been arrested; the rest have fled, and are closely pursued by the police. No suspicion attaches to any class of citizens, or to any branch of administration. I shall not give any further details in this report; you have seen all the papers; you will, therefore, give orders for their being laid before the eyes of justice.—*Signed* by the grand judge, minister of justice, REGNIER. Certified in due form, the secretary of state.

H. B. MARET. *

* In the Moniteur there are several unofficial remarks following this document, but those it is not thought necessary to insert.

Proceedings in the Tribunate, relative to the Conspiracy, on the 17th of February, 1804.

The three Counsellors of the State read to the Assembly the above report; after which the President made a short speech, alluding to the plot, and concluded with declaring that they would all answer for the life of Buonaparté, which secured to France its glory and its prosperity. The President then proposed that the Tribunate should in a body wait on the First Consul, to express their detestation of the meditated attempt, and to congratulate him on his escape from the threatened danger, which was agreed to. When the President had declared the sitting at an end, General Moreau's brother requested leave to speak, which being granted, he addressed the Assembly as follows:

"You have heard the orators of government. You have this morning read the order of the day, published by the Governor of Paris. These two pieces are, in part, levelled against General Moreau. It inspires me with sentiments of the deepest grief, to find that attempts have been so long made to calumniate a man who has rendered important services to the Republic, and who, at present, has not the liberty of defending himself. I declare to the whole nation that my brother is innocent of the atrocities imputed to him. Let him have an opportunity of justifying himself, and he will do it. I demand in his name, in my own, and in the name of his whole distressed family, that he may be brought to trial in the most formal manner. I demand that he may be tried only by a common tribunal: it will be easy for him to make his innocence appear. *I declare that every thing which has been said is an infamous calumny.*

Curée.—Our colleague's is a just emotion.

Moreau.—It is no fine emotion, it is the expression of truth and indignation. (He left the hall.)

Curée.—He has spoken for his brother, where is the honest mind that does not approve the emotion that led him to the tribune? A vast plan of conspiracy is denounced to the first authorities, to the nation, and is going to be denounced to the tribunals. The defence of General Moreau will have all the latitude, liberty, and publicity of which so great a cause is susceptible; but what ought you to do but to desire, and your desire I am sure is shared by the government, that the General may be cleared of the accusation which, interesting the internal and external security of the Republic ought to be weighed and decided upon,

whatever be the services and reputation of the men implicated in them.

Treilhard.—The orator who preceded the tribune, who has just sat down, has satisfied what he thought due to the ties of blood which unite him to General Moreau. Were I not restrained by that consideration, and by the respect due to a citizen in a state of accusation, I should say that he was too hasty. If his sensibility had suffered him to hear calmly the report of the Grand Judge, he would have seen that the result was a reference of the whole to justice. Government has been always too scrupulous an observer of law, for any one to have a right to suppose that they wish to swerve from it. The very eagerness they shew to inform you of what has passed, prove the value they attach to public opinion and yours. The progress of justice opposes the rendering the papers public now—they have been communicated to the Senate and Council of State, who are deliberating in secret. I shall add but one word—General Moreau, his relations, and friends, will have every latitude of defence; there is no one that does not strongly desire not to believe him guilty. (Adjourned)

Speech of the Vice President of the Senate to the First Consul, 17th February, 1804.

Citizen First Consul,—The Senate has been usually accustomed to wait upon you for the sole purpose of presenting their thanks for the glory to which you have elevated the republic, and for the wisdom and vigilance of your administration.—This day they are brought hither by the profound indignation which is excited by the plot just discovered, and which the agents of England have instigated. — It is afflicting for humanity to see the chiefs of a nation degrade themselves so far as to take the direction of assassination. They must indeed be weak, when they condemn themselves to so much infamy.—The senate perceives, with sorrow, among the number of the accused, one of the most illustrious defenders of the country. The serious nature of the charge, and the existing circumstances, imperiously require the measures which have been adopted with respect to him. You have done what the safety of private citizens demand, by sending the accused before the tribunals.—The wish of the Senate, Citizen First Consul, is, that you should yield less to that courage which despises all kinds of danger, and that you should not give up all your attention to public affairs, but that you should reserve a part for your personal safety, which is also that of the country.

Consul's Answer.—Since I attained the supreme magistracy, a great many plots have been formed against my life. Educated in camps, I have never regarded as important, dangers which give me no fear.—But I cannot avoid experiencing a deep and painful feeling, when I consider the situation in which this great nation would have been placed, if this last plot had succeeded; for it is principally against the glory, the liberty, and the destiny of the French people that the conspiracy was formed.—I have long since renounced the hope of enjoying the pleasures of private life. All my days are employed in fulfilling the duties which my fate and the will of the French people have imposed on me—Heaven will watch over France, and defeat the plots of the wicked. The citizens may be without alarm. My life will last as long as it shall be useful to the nation; but I wish the French people to understand, that existing without their confidence and affection, would be for me without consolation, and would for them have no object.

The Legislative Body and the Tribunate.

The deputation of the Legislative Body being introduced; citizen Fontannes, the president, presented the deliberation of that body, in which the First Consul was felicitated on the discovery of a conspiracy which menaced the state and his person.—Citizen Fontannes made a speech to the First Consul, in the same manner as the president of the Senate.—The members of the Tribunate were next introduced to the First Consul, and their president, citizen Jaubert, read to him an address, in which there was nothing remarkable except the first sentence, viz. "While we thought, citizen First Consul, that you had nothing to dread but the dangers of just war, the perfidy of the English government surrounded you with new snares: what a humiliating confession of its inability to combat with open arms the repairing genius of France! What a brilliant testimony of the intimate ties which connect you with the safety of the republic and the tranquillity of Europe!"—The First Consul replied to the deputation of the Legislative Body and the Tribunate, in nearly the same terms as to that of the Senate.

General Orders, issued to the French Armies (in consequence of the Detection of the Conspiracy) at Paris and at Boulogne.

Paris, 15 Feb. 1804.

Soldiers. — Fifty brigands, the impure remnants of the civil war, that the English government kept in reserve during the peace

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because it meditated to repeat that crime which had failed on the 3d Nivose, had arrived by night, and in small bodies, to Belville, they have penetrated even to the capital. Georges and the ex-general Pichegru were at the head of them. Their approach had been invited by a man of consideration in our rank, by General Moreau, who was yesterday placed in the hands of the justice of the nation. — Their project, after having assassinated the First Consul, was to give up France to the horrors of a civil war, and to the terrible convulsions of counter revolution. — The camps of Boulogne, Montreuil, Bruges, Saintes, Toulon, and Brest, the armies of Italy, Hanover, and Holland, were no longer to have commanded peace. Our glory was to have perished with our liberty. But all those plots have failed. Ten of those brigands are arrested—the ex-general Lajollais, the procurer of this infernal conspiracy, is in prison—the police is upon the point of taking Geerges and Pichegru.—A new debarkation of twenty of those brigands has now taken place; but they are surrounded with ambuscades, and will soon be taken.—In these circumstances, so afflicting to the heart of the First Consul, we, soldiers of the nation, will be the first to make a shield for him with our bodies, and we will conquer his enemies and those of France. —*Signed* by MURAT, general commanding in chief at Paris, and CAESAR BERTHIER, chief of the staff.

Boulogne, 19. *Feb.* 1804.

SOLDIERS.—Your attitude, your labours, and your vigilance, made England tremble. Despairing of being able to resist the impulse of your courage, and the ascendancy of the First Consul's genius, the British government, accustomed to crimes, formed the most perfidious plots, and intended to accomplish them by the most odious instruments. The life of the First Consul was threatened, the better to succeed in those projects of iniquity, to the disgusting remains of the Vendée, were joined men who had formerly figured in our ranks, and we have seen united under the same banner, George and Lajullais, Moreau and Pichegru. But the plot has failed. France will complete its high destinies, and Bonaparte will live to secure them. The conspirators are either arrested or have fled. Moreau is arrested; Lajullais is in prison; the police is following the footsteps of George and Pichegru. A great number of those perverse and hired brigands are now in the power of justice, and in a short time it will have overtaken the impure remnant of this band, which is now dispersed. Soldiers, dismiss all fear! the life of the First Consul is no longer in danger. Those dark machinations which threaten it, last but for a moment, and end in the shame and despair of their guilty authors. We, who are placed in the first rank in front of that hostile nation, we will be the shield of the hero. One only thought, one only feeling animates us all, and that is to defend that life, upon which the glory, prosperity, and happiness of France, as well as the honour of the French name, depends. The report of the Grand Judge, the Minister of Justice, will lay open to you the whole plan of this horrible conspiracy. — *Signed*, the Commander in Chief, SOULT.

Address of the Sailors of the right Wing of the National Flotilla to the First Consul.

Ostend, 21 *Feb* 1804.

CITIZEN FIRST CONSUL, An odious nation has planned, with wicked secrecy, the blackest of crimes, to remove from its own head that just chastisement which its perfidy has provoked; but the tutelary genius of France has baffled its conspiracies, and preserved the life of the hero, that it arms for our defence, and preserves for our happiness. Does not the baseness of the means employed by this nation of assassins discover to the universe its weakness, its fears, and its cowardice? Citizen First Consul, the military and civil officer, and the crews of the right wing of the national flotilla, hasten to express to you their surprize and indignation, at seeing that Frenchman, that even general Moreau himself, could be associated with those cowardly islanders, and with Pichegru and Georges, to replunge us in the horrors of anarchy, by a crime the most atrocious, by the assassination of a hero, to whom we have for ever vowed gratitude, devotion, and fidelity. Citizen First Consul, we wait, with impatience, for the moment when you shall proclaim the hour of vengeance.—*Signed*, by CHARLES MAGOR, Rear Admiral, NEYNNE, Captain, &c. &c.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

A short Statement of Facts relating to the Claims of British Creditors on the French Funds.

The treatment received by the British creditors in the French funds, has hitherto excited little of the public attention; it has been supposed by some to be a subject involving the interests of a few individuals only; a plain statement of facts will shew that the honour of the nation is as much implicated in it as the interests of its subjects.

The commercial and pecuniary transac-

tions between Great Britain and France during the monarchy and the first three years of the revolution, (before the war broke out,) in which period the debts at present due to British individuals from the French government originated, took their rise from the commercial treaty of 1786. It was at that time thought by the legislature, conducive to the interests of the nation, to encourage and guarantee transactions of that nature, by the utmost protection they could derive from the faith of nations solemnly pledged. The second article of the treaty is as follows:——"For the future "security of commerce and friendship be- "tween the subjects of their said Majes- "ties, and to the end that this good corres- "pondence may be preserved from all in- "terruption and disturbance, it is con- "cluded and agreed, that if at any time "there shall arise any misunderstanding, "breach of friendship, or rupture, between "the crowns of their Majesties, which "God forbid, (which rupture shall not be "deemed to exist until the recalling or "sending home of the respective ambas- "sadors and ministers,) the subjects of "each of the two parties residing in the "dominions of the other, shall have the "privilege of remaining and continuing "their trade therein, without any manner "of disturbance, so long as they behave "peaceably, and commit no offence against "the laws and ordinances; and in case "their conduct should render them sus- "pected, and the respective governments "should be obliged to order them to re- "move, the term of twelve months shall be "allowed them for that purpose, in order "that they may remove with their effects "and property, whether entrusted to in- "dividuals or to the state. At the same "time it is to be understood, that this fa- "vour is not to be extended to those who "shall act contrary to the established "laws."——The British subjects, who, in pursuance of this treaty, have, unfortunately for themselves, entrusted their property to individuals or the state in France, have incurred some degree *of obloquy from persons*, who it must be supposed *were ignorant of the provisions of this treaty*. Such persons will see, by the perusal of the above article, *that they must withdraw that censure*, unless they have *the presumption* to extend it to the *legislature of that time*, and the *great statesmen* then at the head of his Majesty's government, who did all in their power to promote the intercourse, now reprobated, between the two countries.——It never was contended here, or in France, that the new government which arose at the revolution, was not bound by the treaties of the old one. The manner in which the French government executed this article of the commercial treaty, when a misunderstanding arose between the two countries, was by throwing all the British subjects in France into prison, and sequestering all their property. ——Was it not incumbent on the British government, when peace was restored, to provide that its subjects should not suffer by so flagrant a breach of treaty? The legislature and ministry of that time at least thought so. They immediately, as a measure of retaliation, sequestered all the French property here: for what end, unless to insure a mutual restoration, and reciprocal justice? ——According to this principle the late ministry uniformly acted. When a negotiation for the restoration of peace took place at Lisle, in the year 1797, Lord Malmsbury delivered the projet of a treaty to the French negotiators, of which the following was the eighteenth article:—— "All sequestrations imposed by any of the "parties named in this treaty, on the "rights, properties, or debts of individuals "belonging to any other of the said par- "ties, shall be taken off; and the pro- "perty of whatever kind shall be restored "in the fullest manner to the lawful owner, "or just compensation be made for it." It then provides for the decision of all questions of property between individuals in the regular courts of justice; and concludes thus: "And if any complaint should "arise respecting the execution of this ar- "ticle, which complaint shall not be set- "tled by mutual agreement between the "respective governments within twelve "months after the same shall have been "preferred to them, the same shall be "determined by sworn commissioners, to "be appointed on each side, with power "to call in an arbitrator of any indifferent "nation; and the decision of the said com- "missioners shall be binding, and without "appeal." This article was one of the few that remained unobjected to by the French government; but, unfortunately for the British creditors, the negotiation broke off on other points.——The preliminaries of the late peace were signed October 1st, 1801. The twelfth article is as follows:— "All sequestrations imposed by either of "the parties on the funded property, reve- "nues, or debts of any description, belong- "ing to either of the contracting powers, or "their subjects or citizens, shall be taken "off immediately after the signature of the "definitive treaty." It proceeds to provide

for the decision of disputes between individuals by the competent tribunals of the respective countries; and concludes thus: "It "is agreed moreover, that this article, immediately after the ratification of the definitive treaty, shall apply to the allies of "the contracting parties, and to the individuals of the respective nations, upon the "condition of a just reciprocity."——When the preliminary treaty was published, the British creditors had reason to regret, that the execution of this article in their favour was not secured, as was proposed in the former negotiation, by the appointment of commissioners to decide on their claims, in case the French government should be indisposed to do them justice. But, upon the whole, they were satisfied that their own government would support them in the prosecution of their rights, as they did not imagine that by the condition of a just reciprocity could be understood, that the French creditor in the English funds should receive his whole property, principal and interest, undiminished; and that the English creditor, in the French funds, should receive such a proportion only as the arbitrary and unjust government of France should be pleased to bestow on them, which has turned out to be, as might be expected in the latter case, nothing at all. The English creditors thought themselves under the protection of their own government, as they had a right to be, and not the unprotected victims of a foreign despotism. They met, and appointed a committee, who waited on Lord Hawkesbury, to request and claim that protection in the ensuing negotiation at Amiens. ——Lord Cornwallis began the conferences with J. Buonaparté, the French plenipotentiary, at Amiens, in January, 1802.——In the conference of the 19th of January, (29 Nivôse,) as stated in the protocol, or official document, published by the French government, "Lord Cornwallis demanded that the "article relative to the sequestrations should "be inserted literally in the definitive "treaty as it stood in the preliminaries, and "in the projet presented by his government. "He observed, that the additional clause of "the French contre-projet, which says, "that English creditors in France cannot "be more favoured than the French themselves, would be prejudicial to the English "nation, in as much as the English government had not touched the property, effects, "or funds, of any Frenchman; that of "France, on the contrary, had seized all "that the English had in France, and had "made only imaginary reimbursements. "Whatever right the French government "had to proceed in this manner towards "French citizens, according to the law of "circumstances, it could not so dispose of "what belonged to the English citizen." From this extract we see, that the idea of treating the British creditors in the French funds on the footing of Frenchmen, and thereby setting aside "the just reciprocity" stipulated for in the preliminary treaty, originated in a contre-projet of the French government, and that it was resisted by Lord Cornwallis, as so unjust and degrading a proposition deserved. It appears by the subsequent proceedings, that it was successfully resisted; for in the same protocol it is stated, that France renounced, among many others, this article of her contre-projet: and it is further stated in the protocol of the 6th of March, "that the ministers of the French "Republic and his Britannic Majesty having "met, Citizen J. Buonaparté presented the "note and projet following: The under-"signed has removed from this projet, every "thing that might protract the discussions: "it is composed, first, of articles taken li-"terally from the preliminaries; they are "unattackable." Among these the twelfth article of the preliminary treaty is named; and the fourteenth article of the French projet is as follows: "all the sequestered pro-"perty placed on either side in the funds, "revenues, and trusts, of whatever sort they "may be, belonging to any one of the con-"tracting powers, or to its citizens and sub-"jects, shall be delivered up immediately "after the signature of this definitive treaty." ——Thus was the proposition of treating the British creditors on the same footing with Frenchmen, brought forward by the French plenipotentiary at Amiens, rejected by Lord Cornwallis, and given up by J. Buonaparté; yet most unaccountably, when the definitive treaty was concluded, the last clause of the article respecting the mutual restoration of sequestered property was left out. The words omitted are these: "It is agreed moreover, "that the article, immediately after the ra-"tification of the definitive treaty, shall ap-"ply to the allies of the contracting parties, "and to the individuals of the respective na-"tions, upon the condition of a just recipro-"city."——The immediate consequence of the signature of the definitive treaty to the French creditor in the English funds was, the restitution of his principal, and the payment of all arrears of interest, in pursuance of it. The English creditors demanded the same justice, and the same execution of the treaty at Paris. In answer to this demand, M. Talleyrand informed them, that the treaty of Amiens had no relation to their

case; that they had no reason to expect better terms than the Dutch and Genoese, who had been the friends and allies of France; that they must be content to lose the whole arrears of their interest, two-thirds of their capital, which had been paid off or reimbursed (as they call it) during the war, and for the remaining third, must receive an inscription in a five per cent. stock, taken as at par, though the price was then fifty. So that according to this proposition, a creditor for 6000l. besides the loss of all his interest, found his capital reduced to 1000l. Some, in despair, accepted these unequal terms; but their compliance was useless to preserve even a wreck of their property, for they could never obtain a farthing.——Other English creditors, who did not despair of the honour and justice of their own country, applied to Mr. Merry, the English resident at Paris, for protection against this injustice. Mr. Merry promised to apply for instructions to his own government, and make an application to that of France for the execution of the treaty. If any application was made by him the French government treated it with silent contempt. ——Finding no hope from Mr. Merry, the English creditors, in September, 1802, assembled in London, and appointed a committee for the prosecution of their claims, who requesting an audience of Lord Hawkesbury, stated their case to him, and presented a memorial, claiming the assistance of their country against this injustice and breach of treaty. Lord Hawkesbury promised them an answer as soon as the opinion of his Majesty's ministers could be taken upon it. The memorial was presented on or about the 20th of September. No answer was received till about the 11th of January, when the committee reported to the creditors, that although they had reason to lament many opinions expressed by Lord Hawkesbury in the course of their conference, and although he considered them as having no right to better terms than French citizens, (notwithstanding his lordship was reminded that such a proposition was made by the French Plenipotentiary at the negotiation, and positively rejected by Lord Cornwallis,) yet they were happy to add, that his lordship had promised to write to Lord Whitworth at Paris, to obtain such justice as they were entitled to.——In order further to elucidate this subject, and to shew at once the difficulties of the principle rejected by Lord Cornwallis, and revived (apparently in direct contravention of the spirit and letter of the treaties of peace) by Lord Hawkesbury, viz. that of putting the English creditors on the footing of French ones, it will be useful to state the following facts. During the late war, the several factions that rose to power in France, pretended uniformly to respect and pay the utmost attention to the claims of the public creditors. The interest was regularly paid till September, 1796, either in specie, or in assignats and mandats, the current paper of the country. These to Frenchmen, however depreciated in comparison of specie, were of considerable value, being receivable for all taxes and contributions; and while the law of the *maximum* lasted, a legal tender at a fixed price even for the necessaries of life. From that period to March, 1797, the dividends were ordered to be paid one-fourth in specie, and three-fourths in bons, a species of paper having an advantage over the assignats and mandats, as being receivable in the purchase of national property. From March, 1797, to March, 1798, the dividends were paid entirely in bons, which were circulated at a trifling loss. About this time two-thirds of the national debt (converted into capital by valuing the life annuities at ten, the perpetual at twenty years purchase) were paid off (reimbursed the French call it) in bons, not bearing interest, but convertible by French creditors only into national property, and consequently to them of great value. The remaining third of the debt was funded in a five per cent. stock at par, called the Tiers Consolidé; the interest of this remaining third was paid from March, 1798, to September, 1799, in bons, which, when issued, were at a very small discount; from September, 1799, to September, 1800, in bons of another description, which had nearly maintained their value at the commencement of the present war. Since September, 1800, the interest of the Tiers Consolidé, now called the *Cinq. pour Cent.* though sometimes six months in arrear, has been paid in specie. Most of the French paper formerly in circulation, had been annihilated by the directory, or funded at the rate of about two per cent. by a consular decree, before any of it could possibly come into possession of any English creditor.——This short statement shows how extremely difficult it would have been, if not impracticable, to adjust the equivalents to be received by the English creditors for the various advantages enjoyed by Frenchmen during the war, (independent of the reimbursement,) which could not be common to them. But the French government, to shew they had no serious design to do justice to the English creditors, even upon this principle, had, since the peace, passed a decree, (evidently

aimed at them,) which postponed all funding of unbooked debts to the 22d of September, 1803; and declared that such debts should only bear interest from that time. This, at one blow, struck off ten years' interest from the claims of the English creditors, and seems, upon all principles, a direct breach of the treaty of Amiens. So secure was France of making her will the law.—— Such was the state of the English creditors, when Lord Whitworth was sent ambassador to Paris; the well-known manliness and energy of his character revived their hopes, that the dignity of their country would again be established on its ancient ground, and that Englishmen would no longer be injured and insulted with impunity. They were not deceived in their expectations: upon receiving a statement of the creditors' case, his lordship presented a vigorous remonstrance to the French government, and declared he would never cease to demand for them the same justice which the French creditors had received in England, and which he conceived was due to them by treaty, unless he should be prohibited from persisting by the government of England. Nor was it only by memorials that Lord Whitworth asserted the rights of the nation he represented; in his famous conference with Buonaparté, of the 21st of February, 1803, as reported by himself to Lord Hawkesbury, he says, "I "alleged, as a cause of mistrust and jealousy, the impossibility of obtaining justice, or any kind of redress, for any of his "Majesty's subjects. He asked me in what "respect. I told him, that, since the signing of the treaty, not one British claimant "had been satisfied, though every Frenchman of that description had been so within "one month after that period." This dignified and firm conduct of Lord Whitworth, so worthy of the ancient character of his country, promised to produce the happiest effects for the interests of the British creditors. A proposition had been made by Lord Whitworth to Talleyrand, and accepted by him on the part of his government, to appoint commissioners of both countries for the liquidation of the claims of the British creditors; and this proposition was actually lying before our ministry for their confirmation and approval, when the war broke out.——After all this, what is the present relative state of the French and English funded creditors? The former received, at the peace, their whole principal and interest, without even the trouble of applying for it; and can at this moment receive their dividends, and sell their stock, as if they were natives of this country: the latter, after repeated applications both to the French and English governments, have obtained nothing: such of them as went to Paris to prosecute their claims, and enforce the performance of the treaty of Amiens, (and amongst the rest their accredited agent, a gentleman upwards of 70 years of age,) are detained prisoners in France. The object of this statement is *not to criminate any man*, but to obtain final justice. At the beginning of the last war, the property of Frenchmen in this country was sequestered to secure the restoration of English property upon the conclusion of peace. Is not a debt of *three millions*, due to subjects of England from the French funds, an object worthy the attention of our government? Is it not their duty to secure those subjects from foreign oppression? Are they willing to subscribe to that state of comparative inferiority on our part, which the French are ready enough to inculcate? Or do they think the honour of the country sufficiently preserved by protecting our own shores from violation, when not an Englishman can set his foot upon the continent, without being subject to contumely, injury, and outrage? Surely the English creditors of France have a right to expect from their own country, a fuller measure of justice and protection at the return of peace, unless some imperious necessity demands the sacrifice of their interests for the good of their country; and when the interests of individuals have been *sacrificed for the public good*, the generosity and justice of Great Britain have ever been forward to afford the *fullest indemnity*.

INTELLIGENCE.

FOREIGN.—Some late accounts have been received from Constantinople, which state that a courier had just arrived there from Syria, with the news of the death of Abdul Wachab and his brother, who had both been assassinated while at prayers. The intelligence of this event produced great rejoicing in the Turkish capital, and it was hoped that Arabia would be speedily restored to tranquillity. The chief of the rebels in Romelia has been taken and beheaded, and his head has been publicly exposed.—— Representations have been made to the ministers of the Porte by all the European powers at Alexandria, complaining of the frequent violation of their rights and privileges.—It will be recollected that some time ago, Mr. Falcon, the English consul at Algiers, was dismissed from that place by the command of the Dey. The reasons of this dismissal are not publicly known; but on a representation of the cir-

cumstances to the British government, lord Nelson was directed to proceed to Algiers, and insist on his re-instatement, and at the same time to require that all the Maltese who had lately been taken by the Dey's cruisers should be given up as British subjects. Lord Nelson accordingly dispatched captain Keats, in the Superb, having Mr. Falcon on board, with a letter to the Dey, making the demand which the British government had directed. Capt. Keats anchored at Algiers on the 15th of January, and waited upon the Dey, who, after a long interview, in which he acted with great violence, positively refused to grant either of Lord Nelson's requests. On the 17th, Lord Nelson, with the fleet, came in sight of the town, and capt. Keats again went on shore to wait on the Dey, who was then inspecting the batteries, and who refused to see him, and on the day following, Lord Nelson left Algiers, to resume the blockade of Toulon. In consequence of the Dey's conduct, the following notice was published in the Gibraltar Chronicle. "Victory, at Sea, 19th Jan. "1804.—The Dey of Algiers having re- "fused to receive the British Consul, all "ships are cautioned to beware how they "approach the coast of Algiers, or permit "themselves to be boarded by the Algerine "cruisers. —"NELSON and BRONTE."—The Petersburgh court Gazette, of the 15th January, contains a proclamation for raising eight new battalions, seven of which are to be in the service of the interior, and one for field service.—The tranquillity of Paris has just been disturbed by the discovery of a plot to assassinate the First Consul. Generals Moreau and Pechigrue and Georges are said to have been the leaders of the conspiracy: the first has been arrested and thrown into the Temple; but it is thought that the other two have escaped. The whole of the official papers on this subject may be found in another part of this sheet.—Talleyrand has lately been ill, and during the whole time of his indisposition the First Consul has sent daily to inquire concerning his health, and has caused his own physician to attend him. During his illness his business was transacted by M. Caillau.—The Archbishop of Paris has published a pastoral admonition relative to the approaching jubilee, which will be observed in this city, from the 10th of March to the 8th of April.—The French say that all the reports of peace which have lately been circulated are unfounded, as the court of London has rejected the last propositions which have been made.—On the 20th of December last, Governor Claiborne, who had been invested by the president of the United States, with the powers of governor general and intendant of Louisiana, conformably to a vote of the American Congress, took possession of that colony in the name of the United-States, and issued a proclamation to the inhabitants, assuring them of protection in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property and religion, and confirming all their laws and municipal regulations, and all the civil officers charged with their execution.

DOMESTIC. — Since the publication of the bulletins of his Majesty's health in a former sheet of the Register, the following statements have been made by Sir L. Pepys, H. M. Reynolds, F. Millman, and W. Heberden, his Majesty's physicians. On the 24 of February, "There is no material alteration in his Majesty's health since yesterday."—On the 25th, "His Majesty remains to-day much in the same state in which he was yesterday."—On the 26th, "We think that his Majesty is going on favourably, though any rapid amendment is not to be expected."—On the 27th, "His Majesty is still better than he was yesterday, and appears to be gradually advancing towards recovery."—On the 28th, "We have the same favourable opinion of his Majesty's progressive amandement as we had yesterday."—On the 29th, "His Majesty is nearly the same to-day as he was yesterday."—On the 1st of March, "His Majesty is better to day than he was yesterday."—On the 2d, "His Majesty is going on favourably."—On the 3d, "There is no material alteration in his Majesty since yesterday."—On the 4th, "His Majesty is better to-day than he was yesterday."—On the 5th, "His Majesty continues to make a favourable progress towards recovery."—On the 7th, "His Majesty is going on in a favourable way."—It is asserted that, in addition to the four physicians, whose names are inserted in the daily statements of his Majesty's health, he is also attended by Dr. Symmonds of St. Luke's Hospital.——Several interesting conversations and important discussions have taken place in Parliament, during the last week. In the House of Commons, on the 27th of February, there was a long debate upon a motion made by Sir R. Lawley for an adjournment in consequence of the King's illness, in the course of which Mr. Addington said, "that in case of extraordinary emergency, "there was no obstacle to the exercise of "the royal functions," and after repeated explanations, further said, that there was no necessary suspension "of the personal exercise of the royal authority."—Considerable debate afterwards took place on the second reading of the Volunteer Bill, which was

also further discussed in a committee of the whole, on the 29th. In the House of Lords, on the 1st of March, a very interesting conversation took place respecting the state of his Majesty's health, in which in answer to a question of Lord King, Lord Hawkesbury spoke to the same effect as Mr. Addington had done, on the 27th ult., in the House of Commons. The question of Lord King was very pointed, as to whether it was on the authority of the fifth physician, who attends his Majesty, or that of the other four, that it has been asserted that there is no necessary suspension of the personal exercise of the royal authority? On the 2d, some debate took place on a motion made by Mr. Foster to "inquire into the state of the circulation "in Ireland, both in species and in papers, "and the cause of the present high rate of "exchange against that country." Some conversation also took place respecting his Majesty's health; Mr. Grey desired to know, whether Mr. Addington had stated what he said the preceding evening, in consequence of his having had a personal interview with his Majesty? Mr. Addington admitted that he had no personal interview with his Majesty, but that what he had said was on the authority of all the *five* physicians. On the 5th, the order of the day being read in the House of Lords, for going into a committee of the whole on the Duke of York's Estate Bill the Lord Chancellor left the Woolsack and made the following communication. "The bill now before the House is one, my Lords, which cannot be proceeded on without the previous consent of his Majesty. I have now, therefore, the happiness to state to your lordships, that I yesterday was honoured with an interview with his Majesty, and this interview has been repeated this day. I took occasion to explain to his Majesty what were the contents of the bill, and I have it in command from his Majesty to inform the House, that so far as his interest is involved, your lordships are at liberty to proceed on the bill." A very interesting debate afterwards took place upon the Irish Bank Restriction Bill.—On the 3d instant his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales was pleased to appoint Richard Brinsley Sheridan, Esq. to be Receiver General of the Duchy of Cornwall, in the room of the Right Honourable Edward Lord Eliot, deceased.——The Earl of Westmeath has lately been elected one of the Lords of his Majesty's Bedchamber, in the room of Lord Rivers, deceased.——On the 24th ult. the Rev. Henry Plimley, A. M. Vicar of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, and Chaplain to the Right Hon. Lord St. Helens, was instituted by the Bishop of Salisbury to the Living of Windsor, on the presentative of the Lord Chancellor.——Mr. R. Norman is elected a Member of Parliament for the borough of Bramber, in the room of Mr. George Sutton, deceased.

MILITARY.—Late advices have been received from India, but they do not confirm the report of an action between the English army and Scindea, on the frontiers of the Nizam's territories, they state however, that from the position of the two armies, such an event was daily expected; that the Mahratta confederacy against the British has been broken up, by the retirement of Holkar, the chief member of it, who has been collecting all his strength to the eastward of Poonah, with a view to reinforce the British army: he has also brought forward an immense treasure from one of his hill forts, upon the promise of ample remuneration on the reduction of Scindea.—— Intelligence has recently been received from New Providence, stating that the French, who have, for some time past, been collecting in Cuba, have embodied a force of upwards of three thousand men, with which they intend immediately to attack the Bahamas: their first expedition was to be against the port of Nassau, where they were daily expected, and where there was one sloop of war stationed, and a detachment of one hundred men from the seventh regiment in garrison. ——Gen. Marmont has left Paris to take the command of the French troops in Holland. ——Citizen Cuveliar, who commands the legion of the guides and interpreters, destined for the expedition against England, has published a concise but strong proclamation, in English and French, addressed to those who are enlisted, or wish to enlist, in this legion, and particularly the Irish emigrants in France. This proclamation is fixed up in all the public places, and at the corners of the streets, and attracts a great deal of observation.

NAVAL.—It is said, that most of the American frigates on the Mediterranean station have nearly half their complement English seamen, who entered in that service during the peace: when the accounts of of the war reaching them, four of them got away from the American commodore's ship, in the bay, and entered on board our men of war; and, at the same time, brought a memorial, signed by upwards of fifty British seaman on board, requesting they might also be allowed to serve their country on board our ships of war lying at Gibraltar, they having entered the American service during the peace. The Ame-

rican commodore, however, positively refused to give a man of them up.——About the middle of November last, the American frigate Philadelphia of thirty-eight guns and three hundred and twenty men, under the command of Captain Bembridge, was lost off Tripoli: she was in chase of a Tripolitan vessel, which run in shore, near that place, for protection; and getting into seven fathom water, she put about on the other tack to stand off the land, but unfortunately struck upon a sunken rock. On seeing this, all the gun-boats from Tripoli came out to attack her. Captain Bembridge ordered all the masts to be cut away, in hopes of getting the ship off, but in vain: the gun-boats got under her stern and raked her, on which he ordered part of the stern of the ship to be blown away, to get some guns to bear upon the enemy, and supported this unequal combat for four hours, when the ship fell nearly upon her beam ends, from the tide's leaving her: all further opposition being impracticable, she struck her colours, and was taken possession of, and the officers and crew made slaves. There were a number of English seamen on board, who are involved in the same fate, and who from being taken fighting under American colours, will not be given up by the Dey of Tripoli.——For some days past, it has been rumoured that the Toulon fleet had escaped Lord Nelson, on the 28th of January last, and got out to sea: this report which has prevailed very generally, has not yet received any official contradiction or confirmation, it was supposed to be the intention of the French admiral to collect the ships at Rochfort and those scattered in the harbours of Spain, and make a junction with the Brest fleet.——At Ferrol, the French have four ships of the line, at L'Orient five, and at Brest eleven sail of the line, (three of which are three-deckers) and thirty-eight frigates and smaller vessels; at Boulogne, it is positively asserted, they have one thousand and fifty gun-boats, &c.; at Flushing the flotilla is reported to be very considerable: at the Helder there is one ship of seventy eight guns, three of sixty-eight, four frigates, four brigs, two cutters, and fifty sail of transports, with eight thousand troops: between the Helder and Amsterdam, there are twenty-four thousand soldiers in quarters, fully equipped and ready to embark: at Helvoetsluys there is one ship of eighty guns, one of sixty-eight, two frigates, and two gun brigs: there have also sailed from Rotterdam, within the last six weeks, one hundred and fifty gun-boats for Flushing.—The London Gazette of the 23d ult. contains several dispatches from Lord Nelson: the first encloses a letter from Capt. Raynsford, of the Morgiana, to Capt. Cracraft, of the Anson; it is dated off Cape Spartevento, October 16, 1803, and announces the capture of La Marguerite French privateer, of two six and two four-pounders, with forty men. She was taken possession of while at anchor by the boats of the Morgiana, under the command of Lieutenant Lawrence, who boarded and carried her under a brisk fire of grape shot and musketry. One of our seamen was badly wounded, and since dead. Of the French crew, thirty-seven escaped to shore.——Another letter from his lordship, dated the 16th November, announces the capture by his squadron of Le Renard French schooner, of twelve four-pounders and six swivels, with eighty men; and Le Titus transport, with twenty-six soldiers, from Corsica to Toulon.—And a third encloses a letter from Captain Gore, of the Medusa, to Captain Hart, of the Monmouth, senior officer in Gibraltar Bay, which states, that on the 8th December he chased and captured L'Esperance privateer, of two twelve and two six-pounders, with seventy men, and destroyed La Sorciere, of two twelve and two six-pounders, to the westward of the New Mole Head, Gibraltar. Lord Nelson, and Captains Hart and Cracraft, express the most favourable opinion of the officers who performed the above-mentioned services.——On the 17th instant Lieut. Williams, in the hired cutter Active, fell in with sixteen sail of French small gun boats and transports, proceeding from Ostend to Boulogne; he immediately attacked them and succeeded in capturing La Jeune Isabella transport, fitted up for carrying horses. The rest ran so near the shore, and the batteries kept up so warm a fire, that Lieut. W. was unable to do them any further mischief.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Declaration, given in to the Diet of Ratisbon, by the two Comitial Ministers of the Court of Vienna, on the 30th of January, 1804.

(Continued from p 295.)

It cannot be dissembled, that in the state in which the affairs of the empire are at present, the dispositions of these tribunals would never operate but in a partial manner, and would never be any thing but palliatives. The collisions in question are, indeed, too complex and too extensive; they lead too immediately to general complaints on the part of the States; they are even too indi-

mately connected with the affair of the indemnities, and they have still too much need of general principles, well determined, and which may accord with the new situation of the empire, for a juridical procedure to be proper and sufficient.——His Majesty can never see, with indifference, advantage taken of this opportunity to spread by procedures division in the empire, and by these means to accomplish some political object.—His Majesty cannot either permit that his most powerful coestates should be weakened, by taking away for no end of the vassals and property of the Equestrian Order.——His Majesty, guided by constitutional sentiments, is, consequently, of opinion, that there can be no means surer and more proper than to submit to the diet this object, which is equally important to the safety and tranquillity of the particular members of the empire; in order, that in the deliberations which may take place, there shall be established general principles in concert with all the states, and particularly with those interested, that the latter may regulate their conduct accordingly. His Majesty has reason to expect that the States of the Empire, who have received from him in the most important affairs an assistance so effectual, and on the continuation of which they may depend, will acknowledge his good intentions in the complex affair in question, and will regulate themselves according to his counsels. In his patriotic solicitude, and the affliction he experiences in regard to the differences which have already taken place, and which may still occur, his Majesty cannot help expressing an ardent wish, and positively requiring that all the states, and particularly those who are interested in the relations of the Equestrian Order, will concert among themselves and determine above all, in the most precise manner, by means of a regular deliberation of the Diet, the general principles to be observed in regard to these relations, as is required by the essential rights of those interested by the new situation of the empire, and the need of consolidating more and more its internal force, that those who are injured may regulate their conduct accordingly; and that the states between whom differences have arisen, may terminate them in an amicable manner, according to this basis.——His Majesty, in judging this measure essential for maintaining internal tranquillity, must require also, that in the interval, and until the Diet has come to some determination on this subject, the present *status quo* shall be provisionally maintained, with respect to every thing hitherto done, in regard to the possessions of the Equestrian Order; that in the mean time the military detachments shall be recalled to their garrisons, the measures of execution every where suspended, and that the present state of things shall receive no extent, in order that farther collisions may be prevented.——His Majesty, for the present, will abstain from any declaration on the principles to be established, and will in no manner anticipate the future deliberations. In the mean-time he will persist in the principles which he is authorised to carry into effect, in his principalities of Franconia, against the members of the Equestrian Order, who are there domiciliated.

The President and Members of the Departmental Government of Zealand, to General Monnet, exercising the Command of Flushing, and the Island of Walcheren.

SIR,—Before we received your letter of the 17th Pluviose, we had already information of the measures which you had taken, by order of your government, to seize upon the English merchandize found in the commercial houses and shops within this city; now we have intelligence that the same has also been done at Flushing and Veere. It is impossible to with-hold our surprise at the step against the inhabitants of this country which you find yourself authorised to take. We have no room to surmise that the Batavian government had the smallest intimation of a measure, which is as extraordinary as singular, or that it has been adopted and carried into execution with its previous knowledge, or that it should have co-operated in it. All the lamentable circumstances which strike in succession our country, dear to us, and the inhabitants on this island, whose interests are entrusted to us, afflicted us in the most sensible manner. However it may be as to what has passed, as long as we are ignorant of the motives and the cause which has led to what has passed, we find ourselves compelled from duty and love for our fellow citizens, to consider every thing which has been done, or that may be undertaken against their property and possessions, as an act of arbitrary authority, which we solemnly disavow. We beseech you, Sir, by the liberty of Batavia, acknowledged for more than two centuries, and acquired in battle by our ancestors, at the expense of their valour and their blood, that you will not convert that liberty to a shadow, by persevering farther in the execution of a measure which has been carried to great lengths already, and against which we protest with all our might. If, in the mean-time, against all expectation, you re-

fuse to give ear to this just and well-founded protest, we solemnly and energetically implore you, that the goods and property of our fellow citizens, already seized and placed in security, may not be transported elsewhere; at least, that the sacred right of property be so long respected, till both the governments shall have treated and determined as to the destiny of so many inhabitants, whose welfare and existence alone depend on the preservation of their property and possessions.——We have the honour to be, with respect, President and Members of the Departmental Government of Zealand,

J W. SCHORER, President.

Middleburg, Feb. 8, 1804.

THE NAVY.

SIR,—I cannot but advert to the speech of Captain Markham, wherein he asserts, (with that regard to consistency for which he is so *very remarkable*), in reply to Mr. Pitt's observations, relative to the present disposition of our naval force, that "the "low rate of insurance he (Captain M—) "thought, was the best proof that the Ad- "miralty had done its duty." Now, Sir, let us take a comparative view of the situation of affairs, at the commencement of the late and present contest. At the beginning of the last war, France had a navy numerous and respectable, she could then boast of a number of frigates and swarms of privateers, which in spite of every precaution, frequently annoyed our trade; to accomplish which, they availed themselves of every opportunity to put to sea: hence the insurance was greater because the voyages were then more hazardous. But mark the different kind of warfare now pursued by the enemy, Buonaparté has commenced hostilities, with the avowed determination to invade this country; he has, therefore, collected all kind of vessels for that purpose, which he has, with much care, kept within the limits of his own ports; and which precaution on his part, has hitherto enabled our merchantmen to pursue their destination, with nearly as much safety as in the time of peace: yet, notwithstanding, the Captain would have all the world believe, that the present low rate of insurance, is entirely owing to the *wise* and *politic* system of the Board of Admiralty.——Fortunately for this country, before the conclusion of the last war, the navy of France was, by the skill and bravery of our sailors, reduced to a state which then rendered it no longer formidable: but since that period, the French have strained every nerve to restore their marine, and I much fear that our exertions have been by no means commensurate with theirs. The conduct which has been pursued by the Admiralty has in great measure tended to damp that ardour and zeal, which all parties formerly manifested for the welfare of the service; and, therefore, what with the deficiency of artificers, (shipwrights I mean), the scanty supply of timber, and the premature old age *, which must be necessarily brought on our best ships, by the ruinous blockade of Brest, are subjects which excite in me the most serious apprehensions, how long we may boast the superiority of our navy. So much having been said by your former correspondents upon the impolitic and incongruous proceedings of the Admiralty render any further observations from me unnecessary; but I earnestly recommend to the Public a perusal of the several letters which have from time to time appeared in your valuable Register; from a conviction that the evils, which are therein complained of, still exist, and which, if not removed, must tend to the decline of the British navy. ——Captain Markham farther says, "he "should be happy to meet any precise "charges, and go into a real inquiry when- "ever it was thought proper." I really cannot bring myself to believe, that he seriously means what he asserts, for he surely must be aware, that many circumstances could be adduced, which would render refutation on his part a painful and difficult task, indeed, a task which he could not accomplish; an investigation founded upon good information, would, I am sure, place him in a situation, in which he would not be envied, even by those, whom he has been so active in persecuting and degrading.—I am, Sir, your most hearty well-wisher,

March 1, 1804.

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* Whether the ships be hurried to sea half rotted and half stored, let any one inquire of the officers of the Brest squadron. Rope for bunting, &c. which used to be the best that could be manufactured, was supplied to, and on board, the ships in the late gales, made of *twice laid* [illegible]. What was the consequence? The moment there was any strain, it snapped like pack-thread. A whole suit of top-sails, on board the Culloden, was, by these ropes breaking in the act of taking in the sails, blown all to ribbands, and the safety of the ship and men considerably endangered; whereas, without this economical innovation, introduced by the present Admiralty, no risk would have been run, no sails destroyed; and, this economy!

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